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HISTORIES OF THE PEOPLES

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**A HISTORY OF
THE FRENCH PEOPLE**

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THE FRENCH PEOPLE

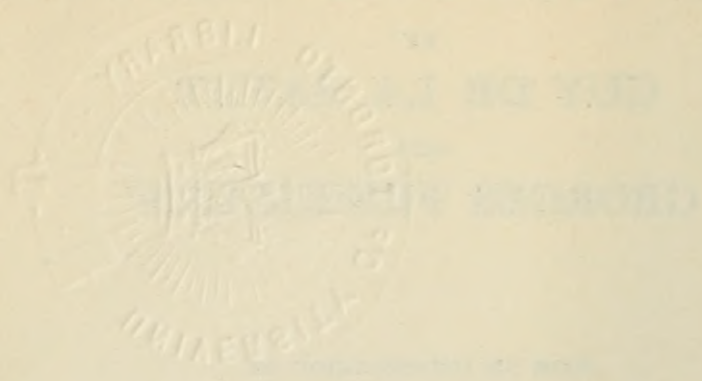
BY
GUY DE LA BATUT
AND
GEORGES FRIEDMANN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
HENRI BARBUSSE

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PREFACE

THIS little book embarks upon a great mission : that of presenting the history of a *people*, of disentangling it from the old conventional framework in which it has been hitherto the custom to cramp and deform historic truth. It used to be taken for granted that history had to do with battles, royal adventures, the glorifying and idolizing of the great ; and the annals of the peoples were almost suffocated by confinement in their national atmosphere. The day has come—and this manual marks the date with a white stone—when the collective destinies of the peoples must be regarded from a higher standpoint, and freed from a mass of stage events and demagogic declamations, the aim and consequence of which is the awakening of base instincts and the gradual transformation of history into legend to satisfy the needs of a base cause.

It is not a question of dissimulating things that were. I have said that this short record is in the first place a work of historic truth. Truth does not lie in theatrical trappings, which are noticeable here by their absence. It lies in the drama, far more deep and significant, of suffering and progress ; it lies in the sharp shock or slow pressure of fatal economic necessities, in the hopes and struggles which are begotten by an ever clearer perception of these necessities, throughout the ages. It lies in the grip of ignorance and superstition, from which the

multitudes of men so slowly emerge. These pathetic postponements in the liberation of brains and arms are only too clearly shown by the history of the French people. They did not really become a people, despite their kings, till a comparatively recent epoch; they did not find themselves till the end of the eighteenth century, and since then they have been patient, waiting. . . .

From this historical truth, at last set forth, another arises: rational and moral truth (for the two are one). In tracking the development of this great palpitating, nameless life, which has spread over France from generation to generation, we come to feel that, if a man is only an element of the national harmony, peoples and races are in their turn only parts of an ampler harmony, a scheme only bounded by the horizons of the world and the great natural laws. In depicting the victories and defeats of the material and moral aspirations of a whole people, in laying bare the causes and the consequences of institutions which have been, this book will indicate in advance the form and requirements of the ideal which is to be. It will bring to light the evidence of a fact,—too immensely simple to be freed at the first stroke—the unity of all living interests.

The editors of the series of historical works, of which the history of the French people is among the first, could not have done better than entrust the authorship of it to Guy de la Batut, who has the erudition of a scholar and the heart of an apostle and was the soul of the university section of “Clarté,” and Georges Friedmann, whose devotion, sincerity, and ability are so useful to our cause. They are of those who know what must be said, and know how to say it.

The few, who will gradually merge in the many, according as they understand themselves: as they realize themselves one with the magnificent, dread phalanx formed of all who suffer or are exploited, and all who

suffer from others' pain, will welcome with gratitude this careful outline of a multiple and age-long adventure : this little book which stands out among the mass of others, a thoughtful expression of the new spirit, only "revolutionary" because it is rational and just.

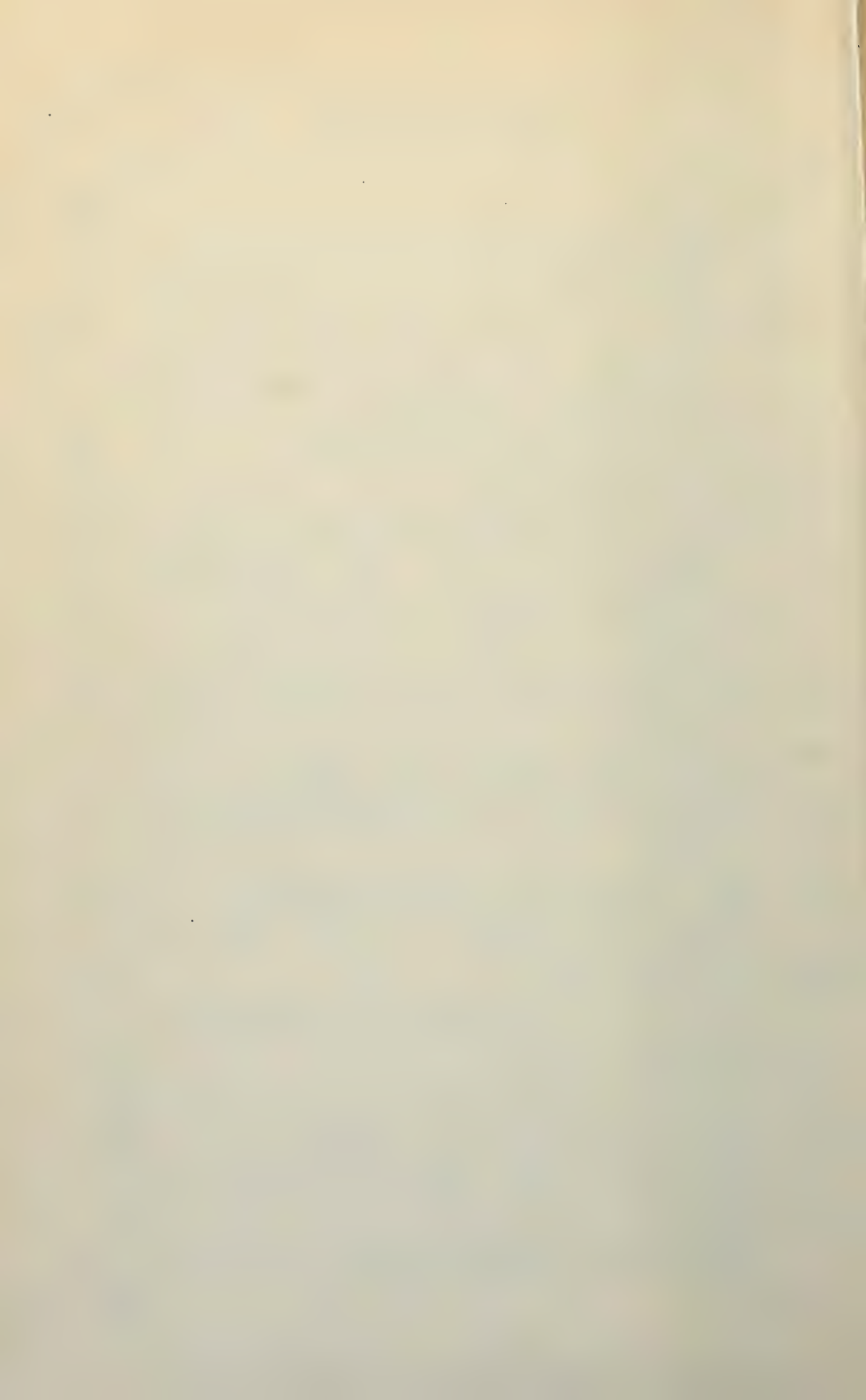
HENRI BARBUSSE

NOTE

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A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

The early story of France will be touched upon only in so far as its incidents throw light on the later social and popular developments, which it is the main object of this short outline to trace.

The first view we get of Gaul, as France was then called, reveals her, like all other European countries, divided among warring tribes, speaking different languages—Celts, Iberians, and Ligurians. On her shores Phœnician navigators, and after them Greeks, traded and settled; finally in 50 B.C., conquered by Julius Cæsar, she became a Roman Province and was profoundly modified and developed by Roman civilization. Cities were built; schools founded; roads laid; and the country unified by the introduction of one language and one form of religion.

Christianity in Gaul—Christianity, introduced in the first century, triumphed in the fourth, after an era of persecution; and the Church, under the Metropolitan or Archbishop, further organized the country, in Dioceses, into one administrative unit; and, as ecclesiastical wealth and possessions increased, gained great temporal power.

The introduction of Christianity modified the purely Roman character of Gallic civilization and had a most marked effect in softening its manners and customs.

The Invasions : Kingdom of the Franks—As in other countries, the decline of Roman power was the signal in Gaul for Barbarian invasion. Saved from the Huns by the union against them of the invading Germans and the Romans, Gaul was subdued by the Franks, a German tribe, under their King Clovis, who expelled the Romans (486) and founded the Merovingian dynasty. This dynasty, on its decay, was replaced by the Carolingians, the greatest of whom, Charlemagne, upheld the ideal of a centralized administration, with assemblies of bishops and nobles meeting twice annually ; with control of provincial officials by inspectors ; and with obligatory military service for all landed proprietors. Through his action in the academy and the schools that he founded, French culture was brought into touch with that of Italy and of ancient Ireland. After his death, however, the struggles which dismembered his Empire left France weak, divided and again exposed to hostile attacks. This time invasion came from the sea, where the Normans, or Northmen, ravaged the north-west coast and finally gained permission to settle in the Lower Seine basin, thenceforth known as Normandy. Their adventurous spirit led to expeditions which were to connect the histories of France and England closely through several centuries. For some time at various periods after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, the Kings of England had more power and possessions in France than the King of France himself. The social effect of the wars which resulted is dealt with later.

Increase of Royal Power : The Capets—The Carolingians were succeeded by the Capets, Dukes of France, who as kings pursued a persistent policy of consolidation of the Royal power ; of gradually adding to the dynastic

possessions ; and of strengthening the frontiers of their kingdom. Philip Augustus, who became King in 1180, drove the English out of Normandy (Bouvines, 1214) ; while at home he did important work by continuing the centralization of French administration. Significant for later history was the fact that to subdue recalcitrant nobles he leant for support on the middle classes, and a sign of the increase of their power and importance was the bestowal of charters of liberty on several of the large towns. In Paris he erected the Louvre, organized the University, continued the building of Notre Dame, paved the streets, and surrounded the city by a belt of fortifications. The struggle—common to all European dynasties—to subdue the greater vassals, was carried on by his grandson, Louis IX, known as St. Louis (1236–1270) ; as was also his work of centralization and of improving Paris, where he built the marvellous Sainte-Chapelle and the Sorbonne. Unfortunately, this just, prudent, and far-seeing king absented himself too much from France by undertaking and leading two Crusades, the second of which proved disastrous and cost him his life.

Social Influence of the Crusades—It is essential to touch briefly on the Crusades, for their influence and their effects were far more important than those of other wars. Of the actual fighting we intentionally omit any description. The first Crusade took place in 1096–1099 ; and the eighth and last, in 1270. The avowed object of the expeditions was to fight the enemies of the Church in the East ; but the real causes were numerous. Religious motives were of course predominant, above all at the beginning, when Christendom wished to avenge its oppressed brethren—and to recapture from the Mussulman the tomb of Christ. Among political motives, the most important was the desire to prevent fresh invasion by the Infidels. The passion for adventure, the wish to re-establish trade interrupted by the Turks, ambitions of

all kinds that could not be satisfied at home, and, for the peasants, abhorrence of their lives of misery urged men towards the mysterious East.

The first Crusade was encouraged by Pope Gregory VII at the Council of Clermont (1095). The crowd responded to his exhortations by the cry "It is the will of God!" repeated by thousands of voices. The preacher, Peter the Hermit, aroused enthusiasm in country districts by calling on Christians to deliver the Holy Sepulchre. At his appeal homes were abandoned; multitudes set out without awaiting the decision of their princes, not knowing exactly where they were going. On their passage they pillaged and massacred infidels, Moslems, Jews, Greek Christians, and eastern Catholics. Side by side with this army marched the army of the knights. The Crusaders entered Constantinople, penetrated into Asia, and took Jerusalem (1099). Religious and Military Orders were created,—the Hospitallers of St. John, who looked after the wounded; the Templars and the Teutonic Knights.

The second Crusade was preached by the illustrious St. Bernard, and the King of France, Louis VII, and the Emperor, Conrad III, both took part in it.

The third Crusade was that of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, of Philip Augustus, and of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The fourth set up Constantinople as a Latin Empire; but this was of short duration. The fifth was a complete failure. The sixth, as a result of negotiations between the Emperor, Frederick II, and the Sultan, gained for Christians the right of entry into Jerusalem. The seventh, under St. Louis, reached Egypt. Meanwhile, the king having been betrayed by the nobles and clergy, the people armed in his defence; but the attempt failed. Finally, on the eighth Crusade, St. Louis died.

The Christians did not gain the ends they expected by the Crusades. Moslems still kept the tomb of Christ

but, as a consequence of contact with Eastern civilizations, Arab and Byzantine, the expeditions had remarkable results. Frenchmen and Italians set up centres of trade in the East. Many different plants, such as maize, artichoke, spinach, aubergine, shalot, tarragon, were imported. The method of preparing cane-sugar was learnt, and also how to weave silk and cotton, to manufacture rich materials, sumptuous carpets, fine weapons. The use of Arabian figures (i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.) was introduced into the West ; besides mathematics, including the perfecting of Algebra, the Crusades brought to the West the elements of Geography, Physics, Chemistry, and Medicine. They also gave a new impetus to commerce with the East ; it might even be said that they re-created it. Marseilles thereby became a rich port. As a result of contact with the East, the science of navigation developed among the western peoples, as did also the art of port construction. Knowledge of the mariner's compass is due to the Crusades. Methods of warfare were unfortunately perfected by the use of mines, of incendiary weapons, and of grappling-irons for the arming of vessels.

Literature had a period of special brightness in the hands of the chroniclers Villehardouin (died about 1210) and Joinville (1224-1317), who told the story of the Crusades, which inspired the first French epic poems. From the social point of view, the Crusades had also great influence on those who took part in them. The knight and the peasant, having suffered together, learnt to know each other better and even to know adversaries who up till then had been scorned and slandered. The Crusades, which might have ended in an increase of fanaticism, developed, on the contrary, the spirit of tolerance, by enlarging the intellectual horizon.

Realist Politics of Philip the Fair—In the reign of the scrupulous and cunning but able King, Philip IV the

Fair (1285-1314), there is noticeable a further insistence on the royal authority in France, and a bold defiance of the Papal power. The Pope, Boniface VIII, having forbidden the King under pain of excommunication to levy a tax on the wealth of the clergy, Philip paid no heed and carried out his original intention. When this quarrel was smoothed over, others arose between the spiritual and the temporal sovereigns.

First States-General—To fight the Pope, the King convoked a sort of Parliament, which, side by side with representatives of the clergy and the nobles, included representatives from the towns. This was the first States-General (1302). The bourgeoisie and the nobility combined to take sides with their monarch and to affirm that only he, under God, had authority over the realm. This was in reply to the Pope, who had decided to summon a Council to sit in judgment on him. The Council declared the Pope to be the superior of temporal princes but, before Boniface had time to excommunicate the King and to free his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him, Philip sent a man of law, William de Nogaret who, followed by a band of adventurers, defied the Pope in his pontifical palace. The Pope died as a result of the outrage (1303). Philip then secured the election of a French Pope, Clement V, who lived at Avignon, which remained the seat of the Papacy, under the tutelage of the Kings of France, for seventy years.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH PEOPLE BEFORE THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

The Hundred Years' War, which was begun under Philip's successors, determines a new phase in French history. It led to a remarkable transformation of the country and made of it a State. Thus, before attempting to study it, it would be well to sketch the main features of French civilization in the Middle Ages.

We have seen that, after the death of Charlemagne and the dismemberment of his empire, the territory which France covers to-day was split up into a multitude of little sovereignties whose influence counterbalanced that of the king. The condition of affairs was known as feudalism and each portion of land held was a fief. There was in France no land without a lord ; the possession of the soil constituted nobility. The lords, who, in their own domains, built strong fortresses and levied an army, were a constant menace to the royal authority. They held courts like their sovereign, and the men who lived in their fief were to some extent their subjects. The lords exercised justice, collected taxes, and often even had their own coinage. All this power was the more dangerous to the king because it had become hereditary, like his own ; it was handed down with the land, which originally had been a gift made by the Barbarian Kings to their companions.

Freemen and Vassals—The freeman who felt he was too weak and feared attacks from his neighbours pledged his land to a lord in return for protection. The man thus defended became the lord's vassal, and the lord was his overlord to whom he owed military service and to whom he swore fealty. The vassal had, further, to aid the overlord in carrying out justice, and to accept the decisions of the lord's tribunal as far as they concerned himself; to take part in the seignorial councils when invited, and, finally, to grant his overlord certain financial aids in case of necessity. But the principal aid given by a vassal to his overlord was military service, which he was obliged, as we have seen, to render only too frequently in the incessant private wars. These conflicts broke out on the most trivial pretext; the belligerents tried to enter the enemy territory, to burn and destroy everything there, and to massacre the peasants, who were regarded as the enemy's property. Thus those who suffered most from the war between the nobles were the peasants or villeins, so called because they lived in the "*villæ*" or domains of the lords.

Free Villeins and Serfs—There were both free villeins and enslaved villeins or serfs. The free villein was not completely free, for he had to cultivate the land belonging to his lord; but apart from this restriction he was regarded as independent; whilst the serf was the property of the lord as much as was the soil he tilled. The free villeins and the serfs both paid dues to their lords, but the distinction between them was that the dues of the free villeins were fixed beforehand, whilst those of the serfs were exacted arbitrarily. It was a custom sanctioned by usage that land owned by either villeins or serfs should be handed on to their children, the lord not being able to reclaim it unless they failed to fulfil their obligations. But if a serf died without children the land returned to the lord. The villeins could regain their

liberty by giving back their land ; but they rarely did so, because their lord was their only protector, and to quit one meant only to come under the domination of another. The villeins were entirely under the jurisdiction of their overlord ; they were punished by fines and corporal punishment, and the lord had the right to inflict the death-penalty.

The Two Orders of Clergy—The power of the nobles might then, it is obvious, be superior to that of the king ; for, if the overlord was the king's vassal, many of the lesser nobles, freemen, were yet more effectively vassals of the vassal, who possessed, further, absolute mastery over the person and life of his serfs. But the nobles were not the only possessors of an authority which the king lacked : the Church had endowed the sovereign with power, and now remained, in opposition to him, very strong and very free. The Church exercised an authority both temporal and spiritual. Like the nobles, she possessed lands which were immune, that is to say, could not be alienated by the king. These lands were populated by serfs, who were generally better treated than those on the nobles' estates, who often came to demand protection from the Church against the violence of their masters. The Church also had its special tribunals dealing with all questions where religion was concerned and settling disputes amongst clerics or between clerics and laymen. Their sentences were more humane than those of the civil tribunals ; trial by combat and torture were not permitted, as in other jurisdictions. Thus, laymen frequently sought trial in the ecclesiastical tribunals ; and, further, the milder nature of the clerical sentences came in time to influence the lay tribunals. Civil justice was based on custom and usage ; the Church succeeded gradually in substituting for the laws of custom a written code, called also " canon " or " Roman." Beyond the ordinary penalties, she possessed a specially

formidable one, in this epoch of ardent faith—excommunication, which denied the sacraments to a man cut off from the Church. Like the nobles, she levied taxes in kind and in money, the most productive being the tithe, which was in theory a levy of one-tenth of the produce of the land. The encroaching of the nobility on the high clerical offices explains the feudal nature of the Church at this period. The secular clergy were aristocratic in character, whilst the regular clergy constantly added to their ranks new orders, in which high honours were not obtainable. These were recruited from the poorer classes, and animated solely by religious motives ; they were democratic in tendency and often took the part of the oppressed people.

The Church at this time was at the height of her magnificence ; the majestic pomp of her ceremonies had become increasingly impressive ; religious buildings were adorned with richer and richer decoration, often purely secular ; the feast-days of the Church were celebrated by all with rejoicings, which frequently were of a nature far from edifying. New cults arose and spread, such as those of the Virgin, the saints, and relics on which solemn oaths were taken. The places of pilgrimage were thronged ; the most famous were the sanctuaries of St. Martin of Tours and, in Lorraine, that of St. Nicholas of the Harbour ; and those of Notre Dame, of Rocamadour, of Puy, and of Fourvières.

An Attempt at Popular Enfranchisement : the Communes—In the twelfth century an attempt was made to enfranchise the people. The nobles, during the Crusades, granted certain rights to their peasants in exchange for money, and this changed many of the serfs into freemen. The kings encouraged this movement and developed it in their domains in order to get the cultivation of the land carried on. Groups were thus founded which formed “ free towns ” or “ new towns.” At the same time the

condition of the townsfolk was much ameliorated. Enriched by commerce and business, the townspeople united to gain possession of the administration of their towns and organized themselves into communes. This change was usually effected by the consent, either voluntary or enforced, of the nobles, who recognized it in an official Act known as a Charter. Rights thus accorded varied in degree ; some concerned only the personal liberty of the citizens ; others permitted them to choose magistrates for their own administration, or granted them even greater liberties.

The autonomous commune had its army and militia, its finances and its law-court. Its characteristic feature was the Town Hall, with its belfry, the ringing of whose bell called the citizens to arms. Some villages also grouped themselves together and formed communes ; but the existence of these was short-lived, owing to their inability to resist the opposition of the nobles.

The communal movement varied according to district. The north gained its enfranchisement with more difficulty than the south, where traces of the ancient municipal Roman institutions often survived. Their municipal officials retained the Roman name of " consul." These communes, of a quasi-seignorial character, possessed their own coinage, their seal, and decided the question of peace or war. The communes of the north had much less liberty ; the nobles there had not, as those of the south, consented willingly to the communal movement ; the right of self-administration was not acquired and it was only under constraint that liberties were conceded to them. Those of the centre, under royal control, only received guarantees against arbitrary action in matters of justice and taxation ; whilst those of the west were under the authority of the King of England, who wished to appear well in the eyes of the townspeople, without granting them too much freedom. As regards the towns in the

east, which were included in the Holy Roman Empire, liberty was extended to them later, but in the event they retained it more completely.

Constitution of the Tiers Etat—The policy of the kings of France towards the communes was not always consistent. They encouraged them on the estates of the nobles to diminish the nobles' power, for the communes aided the kings in lessening the feudal powers of the nobles; but they resisted them in their own domains. Royal encouragement, however, was given on the king's territory to "towns of citizens or of commonalty," which did not elect their own magistrates and had not powers of self-administration. The king granted various privileges in return for money; these towns were called "the good towns of the king" and their citizens "the citizens of the king." Unlike the inhabitants of a commune, who enjoyed their peculiar rights only in a limited region, the citizens of the king kept their privileges everywhere; the nobles on whose land they lived could not judge them; therefore the subjects of nobles frequently asked to become "citizens of the king." Thus gradually there developed the "Tiers" or Third Estate of the Kingdom, the first two being the Clergy and the Nobility; it was this Third Estate that Philip the Fair summoned for the first time to the States-General of 1302 to give its advice on the administration of public affairs; but, unfortunately, this assembly was not convoked regularly.

The Corporations—The development of the communes favoured urban activity, and the thirteenth century was marked by great progress in this respect. Side by side with agriculture, which was held in high honour in the different countries in the Middle Ages, and which was the greatest source of wealth to France, trade and industry began to prosper. Industry grew strong under the régime of the corporations, which were established at the same time as the communes.

The name "corporation" was given to the grouping together of artisans of the same trade living in the same town. A corporation was able, like an individual, to buy, to sell, to receive legacies, to carry on lawsuits. It had its own treasury, its communal house, its seal. Often, and markedly at Paris, the members of the same corporation lived in the same quarters. They were divided into three groups: "apprentices," learning the trade; "associates," who had been apprentices; and "patrons," a stage reached only after an associate had proved his professional ability by the execution of some remarkable work, the "chef-d'œuvre." The objects of the corporations were to protect their members, to assist them in case of need, and to encourage the trade in question; they superintended the manufacture of good merchandise and guaranteed their customers against fraud. A drawback to these associations was that the routine of their regulations hindered technical progress. A "Book of Trades" was drawn up by royal command, by Etienne Boileau (died about 1269), which contained the customs and rules that were observed in most of the Paris corporations, to the number of one hundred. The corporations did not unite amongst themselves, for there was a good deal of strife between them, to prevent encroachments on prerogatives; each forbade others to manufacture or to sell what it itself traded in. Trade on a large scale was unknown, although more and more numerous voyages and distant expeditions had multiplied resources. Merchandise was sold in small shops with sign-boards displayed or was cried in the streets.

Commercial Activity—Famous fairs, such as that of Lendit in a suburb of Paris, of Troyes in Champagne, and of Beaucaire in Provence, where the merchants of France, of Flanders, and of Italy gathered together, gave opportunity for the exchange of commodities and promoted international trade.

Traffic by water was assured by commercial associations known as Hanseatic Leagues. Of these, the principal was the Parisian Hanseatic League of the "merchants by water," who controlled the navigation on the greater part of the Seine. Its head was the Provost of the Merchants, whose importance became so great that he took all the privileges of a "Maire" of the present day. These Hanseatic Leagues controlled a small fleet of vessels of war, and this enabled them to fight the pirates who infested rivers and seas alike. Land routes were, in the same way, infested with highwaymen; on the one hand, escaped serfs, on the other, nobles, who lived by pillaging the roads near which their castles were placed. Obstacles other than the insecurity of the means of communication hindered the development of commerce. It was delayed by the bad state of the roads and bridges, by toll dues collected at bridges, and by tolls on entering or leaving provinces and even the lands of a noble.

In the thirteenth century, the Crusades, pilgrimages, the communal movement, and new industrial efforts made obvious the necessity for close relations between peoples. Both land and sea routes were improved; numerous good bridges were built; even foreign commercial enterprises were granted privileges; and rights of toll were levied less strictly. The general prosperity of the country was favourable to industry and commerce, and the wealth of the towns, augmented by the work of the corporations, gave birth to a luxury trade, the technique of which had been learnt in the East.

CHAPTER III

FRENCH CULTURE UP TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The University—Increased wealth brought in its train a revival of arts and letters. Up to that time teaching had been a Church monopoly and had been guided in a direction favourable to her doctrine ; but, in spite of her power, philosophic and religious discussions led to a revolt, the echo of which reverberated beyond the religious world and thus contributed to the progress of thought. The University in its origin was dependent on the Church, but step by step was freed from her tutelage. It was divided into four “nations” according to the birthplace of the pupils who flocked there ; i.e. France, Normandy, Picardy, and England. The four great faculties were those of theology, law, medicine, and the arts.

Heroic Poems—Feudalism was the source of literary inspiration in the Heroic Poems of the Middle Ages. These epic legends incarnate the soul of a people, reflect the surroundings in which they have taken birth and the epoch when they were composed. The “chansons de geste,” as they were called, springing from the imagination of the trouvères, and recited by strolling players, were only written down in the middle of the eleventh century. The most beautiful of them is the “Chanson de Roland,” which has for its subject the wars of Charle-

magne. The epics of the twelfth century deal with the Crusades ; the poets venture even to depict antiquity, but they attribute to the ancients the characteristics of their contemporaries. Prose romances also were numerous ; Breton legends were the source of several, such as " The Marvellous Round Table," in which appear the heroic figures of King Arthur, Tristan, Lancelot, and Perceval, still familiar in our own day. The poems to which the south gave birth had a special character of their own ; more refined manners are painted in them with greater delicacy of touch ; their authors, the troubadours, were drawn from all ranks, great nobles, knights, priests, bourgeoisie, men of the people. This literature played its own part in softening the crude society of the Middle Ages by spreading a special form of politeness, " courtesy " (or the manners of the Court). A less elevated form of literature, more popular in appeal as a taste for letters became more widespread, flourished at this time, in the fables or tales in verse, a kind of social satire in which men are masked under the semblance of animals ; the most celebrated of these is " Reynard the Fox." A sentimental romance, on the other hand, very delicate in treatment but also symbolic in form, is the famous " Roman de la Rose," written by William de Lorris (thirteenth century) ; it was continued by Jean de Meung, but with much less delicacy.

History—History was at first written in Latin in the monasteries, and the chronicles were continued after the Crusades ; but now side by side with them appeared historical works in French (prose and verse), produced by laymen. Thus, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, in his " Conquest of Constantinople," told the tale of the fourth Crusade ; and Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne and friend of St. Louis, narrated in his " Memoirs " the life of the pious King. The official histories of the kings of France were written in Latin at the Abbey of St. Denis ;

after the reign of St. Louis, they were translated into French and entitled the "Great Chronicles of France."

Religious Art—French art, particularly architecture, was at its height in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Its inspiration, most frequently religious, is seen at its best in the great cathedrals. Two periods of different styles must be distinguished. One, which stretches from the eleventh century to the second half of the twelfth, was the flourishing period of the Roman style, characterized by the semicircular arch and chiefly represented in the south. The other, comprising the end of the twelfth and the thirteenth century, was marked by the triumph of Gothic, much more ornate than the Roman and characterized by the pointed arch. The most beautiful monuments of this style are Notre Dame and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, and the cathedrals of Rheims, Amiens, and Chartres. The decoration of religious buildings was worthy of their architecture; the cathedrals were lighted with lovely stained-glass windows, warm in colouring, the secret of the manufacture of which has now been lost. Sacred history was magnificently sculptured on the church porches, which were covered with statues of the Virgin and the Saints. The Church aimed more at arousing the imagination and striking the senses than at inciting to meditation and contemplation; she was aided in her task by sacred music, in which, at this period, works of the greatest dignity were produced. Religious propaganda even made use of the theatre; on the chief feast-days the mysteries and miracles of the New Testament and of the Lives of the Saints were performed.

CHAPTER IV

BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEAS OF PATRIOTISM AND OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Cause of the War—The ostensible motive of the Hundred Years' War was purely dynastic, and was not the chief cause of hostilities. The French Salic Law, which prevented King Edward III of England from ascending the throne of France, because it was not possible to derive a claim from a woman, was no longer in force ; but from the reign of Philip the Fair, " what the King wished the law wished." So the law came to the aid of the kings of France. A foreign monarch had to be prevented from wearing the crown of France ; for the first time a war was to be declared for a national reason. Further, should a vassal succeed his overlord ? For Edward III owed the oath of allegiance to his rival Philip VI of Valois (1328–1350) for the province of Guienne. This Philip was first cousin of the last three kings of France, while Edward was their nephew by his mother. The King of England paid unwilling homage to his overlord. It was a question of "*amour-propre*" between princes, which affected, in a real but indefinite way, the majority of the French people, that was about to plunge the country into bloodshed for 100 years, and to leave it in ruins. The conception of a fatherland was to emerge from this war, with aspirations towards national unity, but these

only began to manifest themselves in the course of the struggle, through the action of Joan of Arc. On various occasions during hostilities, the English found useful allies in the French nobles, who invited the stranger to the soil of France; there were Frenchmen in the English army; there were Frenchmen among those who condemned Joan of Arc.

For the Nobles War was only a Matter of Business—The danger to the country did not put a stop to wars amongst the nobles, and armed bands recruited for the king's service left the country they had to defend, and even passed over frequently from one camp to the other. In the battles, the English and the French nobility avoided injuring each other, and each regarded the peasants only of the other side as the true enemy. Disappointed in realizing that the courage of the foot-soldiers, peasants or townsmen, of England and of Flanders was superior to that of the horsemen; despising fights in which was employed the new weapon of artillery, which abolished all knightly character from the battles, the gentlemen of France made a trade of war, and only thought how to get all possible profit out of it. There was no survival of any trace of honour. Ransoms, pillage, cowardly massacres, the breaking of parole, were part of a good war for them, provided they made their profit. Thus, to inaugurate his reign favourably, Philip VI of Valois decided to go and fight the Flemish townsmen, who had revolted against their overlord the Count of Flanders; and he conquered them at Cassel (1328). Philip's barons had welcomed with enthusiasm the news of the expedition into this fertile country, where gold, silver, jewellery, and rich cloth were found to profusion among the wealthy inhabitants. This was for them the true motive for war.

The advance of the peoples towards moral and material progress, undertaken with such high hopes in the thir-

teenth century, was arrested. It seems indeed that the verdict on the Middle Ages as a time of barbarity, coarseness, and ignorance, is erroneous because too general; it applies exactly only to this epoch, near to the date arbitrarily fixed on for the beginning of modern times.

Genesis of a Popular Revolt—Several times in the course of the war, the people, seeing such a bad royal administration and the nobles so misguided, sought to take power into its own hands. The King had been forced to convoke the States-General, to attempt to cope with the difficulties of the situation. John the Good (1350–1364) who had succeeded Philip VI, who was defeated at Crécy (1346), demanded subsidies from the States-General in 1355. As the King had frittered away the resources of the country, the Provost of the Merchants, Etienne Marcel, raised his voice in opposition to his sovereign, and declared him unworthy of confidence; he demanded the creation of a council of nine members, selected from the States-General to aid the King; the equality of all for the levying of taxes; their collection by deputies; more regularity in the execution of justice; and the institution of a national militia. The King gave a favourable reply to these demands. After the defeat of the King at Poitiers (1356) and during his captivity (1356–1360), the Dauphin convoked the States-General. It immediately appointed eighty of its members to the task of examining the position of affairs in the kingdom, and securing the necessary reforms. This commission demanded the banishment of the King's advisers, who were to be replaced by delegates from the Three Orders. Their assent to every decision taken by the sovereign was to be essential. The Dauphin consulted his councillors, who, naturally, strongly advised him to reject these summons. He conceived the idea that support refused him by the Estates in Paris might be found in the Estates

in the provinces ; all accepted his requests for money to continue the war, but in turn demanded reforms. The Dauphin then resigned himself to the convoking afresh of the States-General (1357). The Parisians were in a state of agitation, impatient to see the solution of the questions in suspense. The man in whom the people placed their trust, the Provost, Etienne Marcel, who had been responsible for organizing the defence of Paris, the fortification of the town and the levying of the urban militia, wished to give over all power to the States-General, where the Third Estate, and especially the fraction of its members who represented Paris, would have the greatest influence. The Three Orders, during the session of 1357, remonstrated severely with the Dauphin, and the King's Council was reconstituted in favour of the revolutionaries. The Dauphin gave way to the wish of the country, so emphatically expressed, by granting the Grand Ordinance of 3 March, 1357.

The Grand Ordinance of 1357—This Ordinance decreed that the States-General should be convoked regularly twice a year, and during the intervals between sessions the kingdom should be governed by the King and thirty-six elected councillors. Other elected officials should have a mission of absolute control in the provinces, to punish functionaries for neglecting their duty and to organize the provincial Estates. The collection and supervision of expenditure should be carried out by general superintendents ; taxes could only be voted by the States-General. The King could not tamper with the coinage, and that then current should not be altered. No Frenchman should be exempt from military service ; private wars were forbidden ; soldiers were to be paid by the States-General, whose delegates should review them. As the judges had been neglecting their duty, they were enjoined to appear each day at the Parliament, to expedite business as much as possible and with the

least possible expense. They might not engage in commerce and excessive expenses were forbidden them. Plurality of office was suppressed. There was to be no further alienation of Crown possessions, and alienations before the time of Philip the Fair were revoked. The King's right of provender in places where he stopped on a journey, ostensibly a necessity but actually an opportunity for exaction of all sorts, should be suppressed, and its exercise might even be resisted by force. The number of officials should be reduced.

It is apparent that the clauses of the Grand Ordinance have the revolutionary character of the English Magna Carta.

In return for reforms accepted by the Dauphin, the States-General granted him an army of 30,000 men, to pay which the clergy and the nobility were to give up a tenth of their annual incomes. But the Dauphin Charles revoked his Ordinance after the rising of the Assembly (18 April, 1357) and shortly after declared that he would govern by himself.

The First Trouble at Paris—Etienne Marcel replied to these acts of defiance by letting loose revolution. To this end, he released from the prison where King John the Good had confined him, Charles, King of Navarre, surnamed the Bad. Charles had gained the hatred of John the Good by stabbing his favourite, for whose sake John had seized from him the County of Angoulême. Etienne Marcel then gathered together under arms all the men of the trades-guilds and led them to the Hôtel St. Paul, where the Dauphin resided. There he summoned the Dauphin to the defence of the realm, but he received only a disdainful reply. Thereupon the companions of Etienne Marcel flung themselves upon the King's two chief councillors, the Marshals of Normandy and of Champagne, and massacred them before the eyes of the Prince, who, seeing he was at the mercy of the

Provost of the Merchants, had to beg for his life. Etienne Marcel, in order to save him, placed on his head the red and blue cap, which was the rallying signal of the people who had come with him, and pronounced these words : " In the name of the people I request you to ratify the death of these traitors, for it is by the wish of the people that this was done " (22 February, 1358). Such acts of violence, however, lowered the prestige of Etienne Marcel ; the dictatorship of the Provost alienated from him a number of deputies, who went back to the provinces, though Paris remained faithful. The Dauphin left the city, and the nobles, fearing the wielding of power by the Third Estate, gathered around him. At Compiègne, he convoked such of the States-General as were most favourable to him ; Etienne Marcel and his supporters were declared rebels, and the Dauphin and his troops marched on Paris, where the Provost prepared to offer resistance. At this juncture, the peasants raised the standard of revolt. They suffered the worst hardships of the war, being constantly the victims of exactions committed by the leaders of bands recruited for fighting, who pillaged them, as did also their own overlords, and the English. The insurgents, known as " Jacques " (from the nickname of " Jacques Bonhomme " given to the French peasant), mainly attacked the nobility, whom they reproached with inability to defend either them or their country, with being merely brigand chieftains, and with taxing the peasants too heavily. The Jacques, choosing a leader, William Callet or Karle, from among their own ranks, waged, not against the King but against their lords, a merciless war, known as the Jacquerie.

The Jacquerie—The revolt began in Beauvaisis (region of Beauvais), but the insurgents penetrated also into Champagne and Picardy. The stories of their deeds which we possess were written by their enemies and apparently exaggerate the violence committed, for

the chronicles and documents do not mention the atrocities which seem to be limited to incendiarism and pillage, the commonplaces of war. The nobles forgot their private quarrels to unite against them. Etienne Marcel at first disavowed the peasants, but soon he allied with them, and even organized round about Paris a better-planned Jacquerie than preceding ones, and sent two companies of militia to the peasants' army when they marched on Meaux. The Parisians made common cause with them. Thus the movement assumed a popular character; for it included men from both town and country, amongst whom were bourgeois, rich men, priests and royal officials. The fortress of Meaux offered resistance; the Jacques were beaten (9 June, 1358) and sanguinary reprisals took place in the towns and their neighbourhood.

Charles the Bad, who had joined the nobles, invited the chief of the Jacques to an interview in which he made him prisoner and then beheaded him after having crowned him with a tripod of red-hot iron. The Jacques, deprived of their leader, were unable to resist further, and wholesale massacres and executions followed. Three hundred, who had taken refuge in a monastery, were killed. The victims of the reprisals were estimated at 20,000. In their hatred against those who had revolted the nobles did not distinguish the innocent from the guilty.

Submission of Paris—Meanwhile, Etienne Marcel, reconciled to Charles the Bad, offered him Paris and the Crown, and, from June 15th, had the title of captain bestowed on him by the city. Then the Dauphin began the siege of Paris. Etienne Marcel, feeling all was lost, sought English assistance, and bands of soldiers from England and Navarre entered Paris. The Provost of the Merchants, however, not satisfied with this aid, sought that of the Flemings, who vouchsafed no reply. The people of Paris revolted against the English who had

been called in by Etienne Marcel, and he, after an attempt to possess himself of the keys of the city—probably to hand them over to Charles the Bad,—was murdered by members of the royalist party (1358). The Dauphin was then able to enter Paris, where he was wise enough to show indulgence to the rebels, and thanks to his tact the town submitted to him. On his return to power the young prince gave proof of a wisdom and a moderation which he displayed still more markedly when he was on the throne. His father, John the Good, in order to purchase his liberty, had signed a treaty with Edward III which gave over to the English half of France, including the mouths of the Seine, the Loire and the Gironde. The Dauphin refused to subscribe to it, and to give more weight to his decision he convoked the States-General (1359), who supported his protest. Edward III sought vengeance in a richly-equipped expedition which ruined him, but which ended in the Treaty of Bretigny, once more a disastrous one for France (1360). King John was allowed to return, to die four years later (1364), after having further injured the kingdom by detaching from the Crown, Burgundy, which he gave to his fourth son.

Progress and Reforms under Charles V—Charles V (1364–1380) as King fulfilled the expectations of good government which his administration of the kingdom as Dauphin had raised, and deserved the title of “The Wise.” With the aid of Constable du Guesclin he succeeded in expelling the English from France, but his main genius was best revealed in peaceful legislation. He invited the bourgeoisie to consult with him and it was decided that the sons of the King of France should in future receive not provinces but pensions; and he was careful in the case of French territory which had been thus allotted to princes, to reserve important rights in order that these regions should never be entirely detached from the Crown. Parliament was made permanent and secured supremacy over all

other tribunals ; together with the right to register the king's ordinances, it obtained the right to make remonstrances. This latter prerogative played an important rôle in the following centuries. But the king could suppress the opposition of Parliament by insisting on his desires being carried out in the "Lits de Justice," at which Assemblies he himself presided.

Unfortunately, owing to the war, taxation was increased. Charles V got the increase voted at the States-Generals of 1367 and 1369 ; but he made the mistake of not going to them to ask the consent of the nation when he levied it in 1380, though he repented of this infraction of the law before his death (in 1380).

Charles V embellished Paris ; he had six gates built in the town walls, finished the Louvre, which had been begun by Philip Augustus, enlarged the boundary of the town established by the latter king, and put up the fortress of the Bastille near his new palace of St. Paul. The Bastille was later to become a celebrated prison, the capture of which by the people marked the beginning of the Revolution of 1789. In Charles's reign letters and art were protected. He collected together 900 MSS. which made up the royal library, the origin of the National Library of our days. Froissart (1337—about 1410) wrote, in this reign, his famous "Chronicles," which depict very vividly the chivalry of his time.

The Maillotins and Tuchins—The son of Charles V, Charles VI (1380—1422), being a minor on the death of his father, his uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, of Burgundy and of Berry, seized the reins of government and took advantage of their power to plunder the Treasury. The eldest, the Duke of Anjou, who was acting as regent, was especially grasping. As he had not fulfilled his promise to diminish the taxes, but on the contrary was about to levy one on the sale of all merchandise, revolts occurred (1382) at Paris, Rouen, Rheims, Orleans, Troyes, Chalons

and Sens. In Paris the rebels armed themselves with mallets taken from the Hôtel de Ville, whence their nickname "Maillotins," i.e. mallet-men. They killed the tax-gatherers and opened the prisons. The King had to negotiate with them, for they were the masters of the town, and the new taxes were abolished. The Duke of Anjou departed for Naples, to take possession there as heir of Queen Jeanne (a descendant of the Dukes of Anjou, Queen of Naples, 1326-1382); but he died without attaining his object (1384). The Duke of Berry took possession of the Government of Languedoc, where war broke out; the Pope intervened and hostilities ceased, but the Duke showed great cruelty in their suppression. The peasants having been pillaged by the soldiers, a new revolt, similar to the Jacquerie, took place. Armed bands were formed in the Cevennes, which took by force all they needed to live upon. This revolt, known as that of the "Tuchins," lasted several years, but it was not as serious as the revolt in Flanders.

Revolt in Flanders—As early as the reign of Charles V the communes of Flanders had revolted against their Count, Louis de Male, who would not recognize their privileges. As Louis de Male had married his daughter to the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, the latter asked the aid of the King against the insurgents, who were led by Philip Artevelde, the son of a famous brewer. The Flemings had beaten Louis de Male at Bruges on 3 May, 1382, when the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy attacked them at Roosbecque near Ghent. The Flemings had fastened themselves to one another with ropes in order to avoid any risk of retreat, but they were beaten by a better-equipped army. The people of Ghent, however, continued their resistance for two years, and perhaps might have been successful in the end if their allies, the English, had come to their aid; but the English nobles feared to defend a movement of revolt

against nobles ; they preferred leaving victory in the hands of their national enemies to contributing to the success of another class.

As the Parisians were accused of having encouraged the Flemish insurrection, King Charles VI re-entered his capital as a conqueror, in coat of mail with lance in rest, after having had a piece of the wall demolished in order to enter by the breach. The Provost of the Merchants accompanied by the townsmen came to meet the King, but was ordered to return home. Reprisals followed ; some were put to death, others thrown into prison ; the Parisians were ordered to surrender arms ; new taxes were imposed without the States-General being convoked. The King obtained from the Parliament the suppression of the Provost of the Merchants and of the liberties of Paris. Rigorous measures were taken also in other towns. In the regions of Rouen, Languedoc and Auvergne heavy fines were exacted from towns where revolts had occurred ; and then the King turned again to fight the rebels of Ghent, defeated their English allies and pillaged Ghent, the Duke of Burgundy taking the plunder. On the death of his father-in-law, Duke Philip the Bold inherited rich provinces in the north and became the most powerful noble of France.

Under pressure from public opinion, which he had attempted to defy, Charles VI, on attaining his majority, had to dismiss his uncles, and he then governed with the aid of the less important nobles who had been his father's councillors, and were called in derision the " Marmousets " (1388), a name given in mockery in the Middle Ages to people raised to positions too high for them. These advisers showed foresight in their anxiety to economize the resources of the kingdom by lessening taxes, but they were unable to contend with success against the ruinous appetites of a king greedy for pleasure. This love of pleasure led the King into a state of actual madness,

at the time when he went to punish the Duke of Brittany, the murderer of the Constable de Clisson (1392). His uncles took advantage of his insanity to banish the Marmousets and regain power. Then began a reign of corruption and debauchery, encouraged by Isabel of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI, and by his brother, Louis of Orleans. The rivalry between the latter and the young Duke of Burgundy plunged the country afresh into the horrors of civil war.

Armagnacs and Burgundians—On 23 November, 1407, the Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur, assassinated Louis of Orleans. He found a monk, Jean Petit, to justify the crime with religious arguments. The father-in-law of Louis of Orleans, Bernard d'Armagnac, decided to avenge the Duke's death; his partisans took the name of Armagnacs, while those of the Duke of Burgundy called themselves Burgundians. The nobility supported Armagnac and the people Burgundy. For the Duke of Burgundy was opposed to new taxes, whilst Louis of Orleans had levied some under pretext of an expedition against England, which never took place. The Duke of Burgundy gained further popularity by sending to death the Superintendent of Finances, Jean de Montagu (1407) and by re-establishing the liberties of Paris with the right to elect a Provost and to organize a militia. He depended above all on the common townsfolk, and for this the nobles could never forgive him. The bourgeoisie attempted to intervene to prevent the conflict between the two parties, and secured from the King in a lucid moment the banishment of the princes, but war began again shortly after. The communal militias of the north and east supported the Duke of Burgundy; the nobility of the south formed the army of Bernard d'Armagnac. The idea of patriotism was so little developed at this epoch that the rivals sought alliance with England. The Duke of Burgundy was successful and from that time

appeared the strongest, being master both of Paris and of the King. At Paris, he included among his supporters the powerful corporation of butchers, which had at its head the slaughterer, Caboché, and for some time also he accepted the advice of the University.

The people had in their own hands the fate of the realm. Through the surgeon, Jean de Troyes, they presented remonstrances to the Dauphin. Jean de Troyes, in the prince's residence, demanded that he should send away his bad advisers, and urged him to live more wisely and to take greater care of his body and mind. The butchers did not confine themselves to giving such wise counsel, but without more ado took upon themselves the policing of Paris. During these troubles in 1413, the States-General were convoked to prepare for the costs of a probable invasion by the English; the provinces demanded reforms, notably in the execution of justice and in finance. The Crown promised to suppress the chief abuses, and a commission of reform was appointed to study the question.

The Cabochiens—As the discussions dragged on without any decision being arrived at, the Parisians, discontented also with the Dauphin's politics, began to get impatient. The butchers took up arms, determined to get possession of the person of the new Provost of the Merchants, nominated against their wish by the Dauphin. They penetrated into the prince's palace, demanding that the traitors, that is to say the powerful people who displeased them, should be given up. Some members of the King's household were slain and the Provost of the Merchants had to capitulate (28 April, 1413). This success did not satisfy the followers of Caboché, or "the Cabochiens," as they were called. They demanded more imprisonments, and when a delegation from Ghent arrived in Paris, they allied with the Flemish rebels. The Cabochiens informed the Dauphin whom they wished punished,

and when the arrest of these men was delayed, acted themselves. The King appeared to have recovered his reason, and the people came to him on May 22nd, 1413, to win him to their cause. Fresh imprisonments were asked for, amongst them that of the Queen's brother, Louis of Bavaria, to whom French lands had been given. Then Jean sans Peur attempted to calm his partisans, but he could no longer control them, and Louis of Bavaria was obliged to give himself up to the crowd. On May 24th, Jean de Troyes, who had continued the people's messenger, demanded of the King that he should ratify the acts of the rebels, banish the prisoners, and publish the decisions of the Commission of Reform. Charles VI consented to all, and kept his word. In a *Lit de Justice* (26 and 27 May, 1413) he had proclaimed the Grand Ordinance,—incorrectly called the Cabochien Ordinance—which reformed the government, the finances, and the administration of justice of the realm. It attacked any irregular verdicts and granted to Parliament the right of judgment in the last resort. It set the Treasury at the head of the financial organization, and settled the method of election to the Grand Council, to Parliament and to the Treasury, as well as to lower offices.

This ordinance, largely inspired by preceding ordinances, was by no means revolutionary. What it did was to modify the form of government in the direction of a limited monarchy ; but it was never put into practice. The people were not satisfied by this ineffective manifestation, which gave them no control over the actions of a power which experience had taught them to distrust. The Cabochien fury began again. To put an end to it, the Dauphin called the Armagnacs to his aid ; and against the wish of the Cabochiens, peace negotiations were begun at Pontoise. To bring things to an issue, the wealthy bourgeois of Paris intervened in favour of the King, and as most people were tired of violence, the peace party

carried the day. But the promise to forget previous hatreds was not kept. Paris then turned towards the Armagnacs and, reaction setting in, imprisonments began again. Jean sans Peur had to flee, but he was unable, as he intended, to take the King with him. The Armagnac princes re-entered the capital and the Cabochien Ordinance was annulled on May 5th.

Paris Under the Armagnacs—This was the signal for counter-revolutionary executions. The Armagnac terror proved in all respects the equal of the Burgundian terror. The Dauphin was made the prisoner of the Armagnacs in the Louvre and he wrote to beg the Duke of Burgundy to come to his deliverance. Under pressure from the princes the King forbade Jean sans Peur to enter Paris, but he did so in spite of this on February 7th, 1414. His hour of popularity, however, had gone by. No one gave him welcome, and he had to leave again. He had even been declared rebel and war against him was announced. Hostilities were brought to a close by the Treaty of Arras (1415).

The King of England, Henry V, took advantage of the internal troubles of France to undertake a war against her. Her chivalry, commanded by the Constable d'Armagnac, was beaten at Azincourt (1415). France was at the time schismatic, and Henry V announced that he was sent by God to punish her for her sins. He had for secret ally the Duke of Burgundy, a traitor to the agreement of the Treaty of Arras, who, at this moment, recognized the King of England as King of France. The Constable d'Armagnac, on the other hand, had control of the King's person and of the heir to the throne, the King's second son, the eldest having died on December 18th, 1415. He ruled Paris, but though he presumed to tyrannical authority, he proved incapable of defending the realm. On the other hand, Henry V of England, in his fresh campaign in Lower Normandy, where his well-

disciplined army gained him the victory, gave proof of qualities of order and method which maintained the power thus gained.

Paris Under the Burgundians—This allowed the Duke of Burgundy to unmask himself. He published throughout the towns of France a proclamation against the Armagnac régime and marched on Paris. He rescued Queen Isabella, who had been exiled to Troyes, and declared her regent of the kingdom in opposition to the Dauphin. The Burgundians entered Paris May 29th, 1418, and secured the King's person. The Provost of Paris, Tanneguy Duchatel, saw to the flight of the Dauphin and his safeguarding at Melun. Armagnac massacres took place in Paris and the town was plundered. The butchers were again at the head of the movement. On June 12th prisoners in the prisons were massacred, the number of victims on the one day being estimated at 1,600, amongst them being the Constable d'Armagnac and the first President of the Parliament. On July 14th, 1418, Jean sans Peur entered Paris with the Queen. He was welcomed as the herald of peace ; but he was unable to keep order, and bands, commanded by the hangman, Capeluche, became masters of the town ; fresh massacres took place in spite of the protests of the Duke. To free himself from them, Jean sans Peur sent the armed men to Montlhéry to fight the Armagnacs, and when they were out of the city, had Capeluche and his chief companions assassinated. At this juncture, a severe epidemic in Paris was carrying on the work of death begun by the civil war, and further, the capital suffered from famine.

The Burgundians in the English Camp—The English then put the seal on the conquest of Normandy by the capture of Rouen (1419), which was defended with the energy of despair. Jean sans Peur tried to negotiate with the English, but Henry V showed such pride that

he was obliged to give up the attempt. Meanwhile the Dauphin had placed himself at the head of the Armagnacs and had organized in central France a government in opposition to the Queen's, and he proposed to the Burgundians reconciliation for joint action against the English. Several interviews took place between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, and peace was on the point of being made between them, when the Armagnacs learnt that Jean sans Peur was continuing negotiations with Henry V. On September 10th, 1419, the Duke was assassinated at Montereau during an interview with the Dauphin. On hearing the news of the murder the Burgundians flung themselves into the English camp. The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, concluded with the King of England the Treaty of Troyes (1420), by which the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy recognized Henry V as heir to the throne of France ; Henry V was to govern the realm of Charles VI till the death of the latter ; his French conquests were confirmed, and he was to marry Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. By the stipulations of the Treaty, the King of France, Charles VI, was forced to fight the very towns which had remained true to his cause and his son's. On December 1st, 1420, Charles VI and Henry V entered Paris together. The States-General met on the 10th of the month to sanction the Treaty of Troyes ; but the Dauphin continued resistance in the south. After having gained some success and besieged Chartres, he marched on Paris ; but when Henry V, who had left the town, came back to it, the Dauphin was obliged to retreat to the other side of the Loire.

The Two Kings of France—Henry V and Charles VI both died in 1422, and Henry VI was proclaimed King of France at St. Denis. Thereupon two kings claimed to rule France, though the French prince, Charles VII, was, to be exact, only " King of Bourges," for he ruled only over the central provinces.

The reciprocal position of the two kings did not change till the entry into the field of Joan of Arc. The English King was encroaching on French territory, the King of Bourges not ceasing to urge his claims though without power to defend them, when the English took decisive action in the attack on Orleans (1428), the key of the south. The French Prince's army was beaten at the "Battle of the Herrings" (1429). At this juncture, Joan of Arc appeared. We must turn for a moment to a study of her character, not for her achievements as a warrior, but because she, in her simple purity, is one of the most interesting figures of the Middle Ages in France.

The Spiritual Force of Joan of Arc—The village where she was born and passed her infancy, Domrémy in Lorraine, was Armagnac, and had frequent struggles against its Burgundian neighbours. The region suffered incessantly from pillage. Joan, brought up piously in the solitude of a shepherd's life, developed deep spirituality and a passionate love for her unhappy France; and in simple faith frequently asked of the saints the remedy for her country's sufferings. One day, she thought she heard heavenly voices, which bade her go forth to the succour of the kingdom. At first she was afraid; then she ceased to marvel at this difficult mission; the stories of the saints, daily food of her piety, were made up of equally marvellous occurrences. The spirit of chivalry, which no longer inspired the nobles, was slowly penetrating among the people, who had been able to meditate on the lessons of suffering in the war. They had had time to realize fully the incapacity and wickedness of the country's leaders; and the convulsions of sudden rebellion had roused a conviction among the people that they alone could save themselves. Besides, the poor folk pitied the miseries of a King without a realm, whose territory an unworthy mother had delivered up to his enemies. These are the diverse influences which explain

Joan of Arc's decision, a decision all the more enterprising, in that before putting it into execution she spoke to no one about it, for fear her hopes should meet with discouragement. When she was about to set out, she told only her father, who threatened to drown her. Opposition and violence only strengthened her faith. She reached the Court at Chinon where the King, although sceptical, granted her the small army which she desired to save Orleans. Everywhere on her journey people were sceptical, yet everywhere they longed to have faith in her ; for the people in their great misery needed belief in a miracle. Hers was the spiritual force which is "as the strength of ten" and which transformed the feeble so that they could triumph over the greatest difficulties. This brave daughter of the people was surrounded by a halo of prestige which royalty, nobility, and the debased Church had lost. The people, recognizing her as their own, forced the King to accept her aid. Joan's ardour restored confidence to the soldiers ; she re-established discipline amongst them, and on May 8th, 1429, entered Orleans. She followed up her victory by chasing the English to the banks of the Loire, but she still wished to turn "the King of Bourges" into the King of France, and to this end she led him for consecration to Rheims, the traditional place for the coronation of the kings of France (17 July, 1429). At the news of this success a great number of towns declared themselves subjects of Charles VII. As her sovereign lacked energy, Joan decided to march on Paris ; but she was unable to take the town, was wounded, and under orders from Charles VII, had to give up the attack. She followed this attempt with the siege of Compiègne, where she was made prisoner (23 May, 1430).

Joan Abandoned by the King, Burnt by the Priests—King Charles dissociated himself from her fortunes and did not think of ransoming her. Sold to the English by

John of Luxembourg, her captor, she was judged by the Bishop of Beauvais, Cauchon, who had been won over by the English, from whom he hoped for the Archbishopric of Rouen. She was accused of heresy and sorcery. Sure of the reality of her mission, this ignorant girl replied to all questions, even the most complicated, with great intelligence and marvellous calm. Only a lay power, however, could condemn her to death. After having threatened her with torture, her accusers promised she should be put in an ecclesiastical prison if she would abjure her errors. She refused; but Cauchon, having begun to read the death sentence, Joan, weakened and distracted by the invectives and threats of the priests, withdrew her refusal. She was then condemned to perpetual imprisonment, to the dissatisfaction of the English. As she had been forbidden by the judges to wear men's clothes, her women's garments were taken from her, to lead her into a trap. She was forced to cover herself with the garments left to her, though they had been forbidden her, and for this offence was declared "relapsed," i.e. fallen again into her sin, and condemned to be burnt alive. The unhappy girl wept and doubted the voices she had heard; but she believed the King of France would save her. She even had hopes that her saints would come to her aid. She bore the penalty heroically on the pyre in the Place du Vieux-Marché at Rouen on May 30th, 1431. Thus died Joan of Arc, burnt at the desire of the ecclesiastics, abandoned by her King; yet to-day, in France, it is the ecclesiastics and royalists who exploit her memory to the advantage of their cause.

The End of the War—The enthusiasm of Joan of Arc had created French unity; her death did not break it. King Henry VI of England was consecrated in vain at Paris (1431) to counterbalance the consecration at Rheims. The patriotic ardour awakened by the peasant girl of Lorraine, endured. The English gained no further

victories in France. The Duke of Burgundy broke his alliance with them and made terms with Charles VII by the Treaty of Arras (21 September, 1435), which put an end to the civil war. On May 24th, 1436, summoned by the people of the true capital of France, Charles VII entered Paris. Normandy was regained for France by the battle of Formigny (1450) and Guienne by that of Castillon (1453). Calais was the only French town which remained in English hands. The Hundred Years' War was brought to an end by the entry of Charles VII into Bordeaux on October 19th, 1453. No treaty marked its close.

CHAPTER V

GROUPING OF FRENCH TERRITORIES

Charles VII's Internal Organization—The institutions and reforms established by Charles VII were mostly connected with the military pre-occupations of his reign, in the endeavour to secure both internal and external safety. They were the work more of the clever specialists he chose as advisers than directly his own. Such were Jean Bureau, his master of artillery, an unpleasing office which was created during the Hundred Years' War; and Jacques Cœur, the organizer of his finances, to whom the King was greatly indebted, and who died the victim of the ingratitude of his sovereign and the jealousy of the great. To ensure the security of the realm was hardly less difficult than to free it from invasion. We have seen that on several occasions the mercenary bands employed by the King to fight his enemies, often actually fought the peasants of the lands they should have defended. They received no pay and so naturally pillaged for their livelihood. When the war ended they constituted a real danger to their former employers. To free himself from them, Charles VII, following the example of Charles VI, used the most of them, nicknamed the Fleecers, for distant expeditions; and in order to be more certain of having soldiers at his command, he created a permanent army in France. This army received pay and was exempt from taxes. The brothers Bureau completed the

newly organized army by the creation of a formidable artillery. Cannon at this time became movable and were loaded with iron balls instead of stone.

The permanent army made the regular levying of taxes necessary by the King, without the need of obtaining authorization from the States-General. From the States summoned to Orleans in 1435 he obtained for the kings the sole right to form an army in the realm and also to levy the principal taxes, known as subsidies and aids. The recognition of this prerogative resulted in rendering the convoking of the States-General useless, and in future the kings avoided summoning it. The subsidy was paid exclusively by the peasants and townspeople; the aids, feudal in origin, and formerly levied by the nobles in exceptional cases, became a general and permanent tax.

It was not only wretched mercenaries for whom Charles VII had to find occupation in order to pacify his realm; he crossed lances also with the feudal system. The nobles revolted on several occasions, and the King's son, Louis, was amongst them. Charles VII forced him into exile in Dauphiné, but as he continued his intrigues, the King sent against him the former chief of the Fleecers, Antoine de Chabannes, and himself came to Lyons with an army. The Dauphin took refuge with the Duke of Burgundy where Charles VII could not pursue him. The King, however, vented his severity on the rebel nobles. He put some in prison, banished some and even beheaded some. Under his rule, a celebrated revolt of the angry nobles, who saw themselves despoiled of certain of their privileges, was the "Praguerie," to end which the armed intervention of the King was needed.

Origin of the Gallic Church—It was again a desire for peace which led Charles VII to concern himself with Church affairs; he was anxious to remove the disorders which had arisen among the clergy as the result of the Great Schism of the West. In 1438 he gathered together

at Bourges an Assembly of five Archbishops, twenty-five Bishops and persons highly qualified in matters of religion, and promulgated the rule known as the Pragmatic Sanction, which acknowledged the decisions of the Council to be superior to those of the Pope, established the principle of election for all ecclesiastical dignities and abolished the greater part of the taxes levied in France by the Holy See. This act, which made the Church in France to some extent independent of the Papacy, was considered the foundation-stone of the liberties of the Gallic Church. Justice was also reorganized by Charles VII. The Parliament, whose decisions were effective throughout the land, was settled at Paris, and a new criminal chamber was created, that of the Tournelle.

Louis XI Lessens the Power of the Feudal System—On his accession, in 1461, Louis XI (1461–1483) reaped the heritage of the revolt of the nobles which he had himself supported against his father, Charles VII; indeed, in the case of these feudal houses, whom the kings had for centuries found ranged against their authority, it was always the king's doing, in origin, that had raised them to power.

On the death of Charles VII, there were seven houses of royal blood, who performed with a bad grace the duties of vassals towards their sovereign. The noble from whom Louis XI suffered most insolence, was the Duke of Burgundy, who laid claim to his gratitude for having given him hospitality when he incurred his father's hatred. The great nobles believed that Louis, who had been their ally as Dauphin, would remain it as king; but they were disappointed. He set to work to diminish their powers of jurisdiction, and to attach to the crown by all possible means the lands not directly under his control. Hence what was in truth a "Feudal League" named "for the Public Good" was formed against him; and it was rightly thus named, for Louis XI gave cause for complaint

to others besides the great feudal tenants. He deprived his father's officials of office, he drew upon himself the enmity of the clergy, by the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction ; of the University, by forbidding it to occupy itself with political matters ; and even of the people, by the increase of taxation. He suppressed with severity revolts which broke out at Rouen against the new taxes. Yet he surrounded himself with men of the lower middle-classes, not in order to show favour to their class, but because those who owed him all would serve him without his putting a limit to his exactions.

He Realizes Territorial Unity—Louis XI was a clever and unscrupulous politician ; the end for him always justified the means, and his keen sense of the realities, in fact all his special qualities, were very useful to him in his long struggle against the feudal system. At the head of the opposition of the nobles was the House of Burgundy with its Duke, Philip the Good, and above all, with Philip's son, Charles the Bold, whom Louis fought as much by guile as by arms. Finally, Charles the Bold, who had become Duke of Burgundy in 1467, was beaten more on account of his excessive ambition than by Louis XI's power ; and only the death of the Duke at the siege of Nancy (1477) freed the King from this powerful rival. Thus Louis XI paid most attention to establishing the territorial unity of the kingdom ; in this he succeeded, for he increased the royal domains by eleven provinces ; Brittany, the last of the great fiefs of old time, was rejoined to France in 1491 in the reign of his son Charles VIII.

Reforms and Intellectual Activity—The name of Louis XI is connected with a certain number of administrative reforms and improvements. He established a postal service in 1464, which originally was only for the use of the King and the Pope ; he decreed that magistrates should be appointed for life, and he created new Parlia-

ments at Grenoble, Bordeaux and Dijon. He protected commerce and industry and encouraged the development of great market centres ; he interested himself in the first silk manufactories founded at Tours by the Italians.

The King was himself a learned man, and he organized several Universities, such as those at Bordeaux and Bourges. Philip de Commynes (c. 1445-1511), his adviser, philosophizes and reasons about the facts he recounts in his "Memoirs," and is thus the first historian of France. At the same period lived the first great French poet, the scholar and criminal, François Villon (1431-? 1463) ; his "Grand Testament," where sadness and burlesque alternate, is a work of an absolutely personal character, hitherto unknown. It was in the reign of Louis XI that Paris possessed its first printing-press ; and it is this discovery of Gutenberg which has been commonly chosen to mark the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of Modern times, a discovery destined to transform the world by popularising the products of the intelligence.

CHAPTER VI

THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE

The Renaissance in France : Result of the Italian Wars
—The Italian Wars were at the bottom of the rivalry between the Houses of France and of Austria, which lasted for more than two centuries. They had as immediate cause the ambitions of King Charles VIII (1483–1498) and King Louis XII (1498–1515) of France, who desired to prove by warlike expeditions the strength and the solid organization of their realm ; further, the prosperity of Italy, incomparable in the Europe of that day, and her political anarchy, made of her a desirable and easy prey. The vindication of the claims of their family on Naples and Milan was sufficient pretext for the Kings of France. Coalitions in which Austria was always the guiding spirit were formed against France, who sought extension beyond her natural frontiers ; and it is at this moment that she appeared for the first time a menace to the peace of Europe, to be replaced in this rôle by Austria when Charles V became Emperor of Germany (1519). On two occasions (1495 and 1513) the Kings of France were obliged to abandon the Italian provinces which they had just conquered, and the second campaign even led to a double invasion of France (1514). The Italian wars, continued by Francis I (1515–1547), who reconquered the Milanese in 1515, and by Henry II (1547–1559), gradually became part of the larger struggle

for the supremacy in Europe, entered upon by the Houses of France and Austria. They did not lead to the domination of France over Italy, but the adventurous princes who embarked on them, anxious to work out in actual life one of the knightly romances of which the epoch was enamoured, brought into being a cruel reality; and these wars would have been nothing more than sanguinary military expeditions if it had not been that, thanks to them, France came in touch with the Italian Renaissance, with all this meant in the way of benefits for her art, her literature and indeed her whole civilization.

The Renaissance was a resurrection of art and of ancient thought, at the same time as it was a reaction against the universal authority of theology and the Church. It had begun to manifest itself in the thirteenth century in Italy, where the civilization of ancient times was nearer in memory and in monuments; and the divisions into States and free towns were more favourable to artistic competition, and the prosperity greater than in the rest of Europe. It only appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century in France, where it was felt especially in literature; the arts kept their original character, though absorbing the influence of antiquity and of contemporary Italy, and only gradually lost the traditions and manners of the Middle Ages.

Letters—Under Francis I the writers, while preserving the national spirit, have already acquired the passion for antiquity. Clement Marot (1497–1544)—a lovable, malicious poet,—is not yet an innovator; he still preserves in his elegies, epistles and ballads the lively turns and ready wit of the romancers who preceded him. Rabelais (1483–1553) is endowed with a powerful rollicking gift of satire, which makes his work akin to the Middle Age *verse fables*; and he lavishes it on the abuses of his time. Calvin treats of theological subjects in French for the first time (1541), but his phraseology is still quite Latin.

After 1550, the influence of Italy and of the Ancients was predominant. In 1549 appeared the manifesto of the new school, called first the Brigade and later the Pleïade. It was embodied by Joachim du Bellay in his book "Defence and Illustration of the French Language," in which he recommends that the French tongue, reproached for poverty in poetical resource, should be enriched by imitation of the Ancients. Ronsard (1524-1585), the most celebrated and the most fertile, but often the most affected of the poets of the Pleïade ; du Bellay (1522-1560), more original and more profound ; Remi Belleau, an elegant versifier ; Baïf, a bold originator, each contributed by their personal qualities to the enriching of the language. They introduced a crowd of words, either new or modelled on Greek and Latin, not all happy ; and employed figures of speech, periods and rhythms, borrowed from the Ancients. The fiercest of their opponents contented themselves with attacking their excesses, without touching the foundation of their work, which has counted for much in building up and definitely shaping the language. The greatest prose writer of the end of the century was Montaigne (1533-1582), whose great achievement was to gather together in the "Essays" all the elements of the wisdom of the Ancients, recast in a personal form. After him Amyot is famous for the purity of style in his translation of the "Lives" of Plutarch.

The Arts—The evolution of art was slower, and the Renaissance could not triumph so rapidly or easily over the naïve, realist art of the "imagiers" or painter-sculptors, and the luxuriant Gothic decoration.

Architecture was the first to surrender to the new influences with the construction of palaces in Italian style ; the signs of French-Gothic style that are still numerous in buildings constructed before 1520 (e.g. the Palace of Justice at Rouen, the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris)

become rarer between 1520 and 1540, as is seen in the numerous royal castles built then, of which the most sumptuous are Chenonceaux, Blois and Chambord—("The Castles of the Loire"). From 1540 to the end of the century they disappear almost entirely under the wealth of antique or Italian ornamentation. The castle of Ecouen, built by Jean Bullant; that of Anet, built by Philibert Delorme, and, finally, the Louvre, to which Pierre Lescot gave an elegance both harmonious and regular, are the most beautiful souvenirs of the period.

Sculpture, permeated as it was with Flemish naturalism from the preceding centuries, retained its French traditions much longer, and produced some works of the first order. Ligier Richier sculptured "The Entombment" (Church of St. Mihiel), a subject which attracted a crowd of other sculptors in the sixteenth century. At the same time, the churches were filled with monuments of which some showed admirable workmanship, such as the celebrated "Tomb of the Duke of Brittany, Francis II," on which Michael Colombe worked at Nantes from 1502–1507, and the bas-reliefs of the tomb of Francis I, executed by Pierre Bontemps, in the basilica of St. Denis. The artists whom we have mentioned have in common a realist character and fidelity of vision rather than pursuit of abstract beauty. In others, however, we find the universal and human character of the art of Italy and the Renaissance. The personages of Jean Goujon, borrowed from Ancient Mythology, or from Greco-Latin symbolism (e.g. Caryatids of the Louvre; Nymphs of the Fountain of the Innocents); those of Germain Pilon (e.g. the Tomb of Henry II at St. Denis, the Group of the Three Graces), remarkable for majestic harmony of feature and attitude, belong to all countries and to all time.

Painting was far from counting among its champions artists comparable with Raphael and Michael Angelo,

and this is a clearly-marked difference between the Renaissance in France and in Italy. It is not unjust to condense its history into a single name, that of François Clouet, who, employing traditional means, fixed with minute detail the lineaments of a great number of personages of his day. At Fontainebleau, however, lived an entire colony of Italian artists, attracted to France by Francis I, amongst them the goldsmith and sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini, and the painters Rosso and Primatice, who decorated the palace richly. The colony owed its success to the infatuation of the whole of society for the Italian style. Fashion from now on begins to be a factor in the evolution of art.

In the decorative arts the two rival tendencies are equally traceable. Bernard Palissy, who was at the same time one of the precursors of modern geology, after sixteen years of effort and unheard-of sacrifices, even to the burning one day of the beams and furniture of his poor dwelling for fuel for his kiln, found out the secret of glazing pottery, and covered it with original enamelling, the subjects of which are borrowed both from the ancient classics and from life. In furniture, classic tendencies prevail; cabinet-makers decorate their pieces with figures from antiquity in the taste of the sculptures of Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon (style of Henry II).

Position of Artists—Before leaving the subject of the artistic Renaissance we must specially point out that it was marked by a notable improvement in the position of artists, who were grouped together in corporations and up till then regarded as artisans. Without receiving the honours showered upon their Italian contemporaries, the French artists of the sixteenth century, and in particular the great sculptors and architects, had dignities and profitable positions conferred on them, and became important personages in the State. Thus Pierre Lescot was adviser to the King, Philibert Delorme was Inspector

of Royal Buildings ; Germain Pilon, Controller-General of the Mint.

Science—The scientific Renaissance in France was marked by the development of "humanism," that is to say, the enthusiastic study of letters, and, above all, the tongues of the Ancients. A great number of learned men consecrated their lives to the correction of the ancient texts, which had been frequently re-copied and altered ; these scholars started the critical study of the texts, and did much for the progress of philology. Further, in their own works, thanks to their profound knowledge of the Greco-Latin world, they attempted to reconstruct the life of the Ancients. Among the most celebrated was Etienne Dolet, who wrote "Commentaries on the Latin Tongue," a bold spirit, who was burnt alive for the crime of atheism, accused of having translated a dialogue of Plato which embodied a denial of the immortality of the soul ; others also famous were Guillaume Budé and Henri Estienne, whose works are still authorities. After the setting up of the first printing-presses (a printing-press being set up at the Sorbonne in 1470), the most valuable assistance to the spread of the humanities was that given by the founding of the College of France in 1530 by Francis I, at the suggestion of Guillaume Budé. At first it comprised only three Chairs, those of Greek, of Latin and of Hebrew, but fifteen years later there were a dozen and the College had become a small University.

Juridical and theological studies were then actively pursued ; Cujas, Guy Coquille, and the mathematician Viète laid the first foundations of algebra ; Bernard Palissy carried on geological observations of the greatest interest ; Ambrose Paré, named "The Father of Modern Surgery," discovered the ligature of the arteries and did important work in human anatomy, therapeutics and physiology.

Intellectual Internationalism—At this period the artists of all countries travelled and acquainted each other with their works ; the learned men corresponded and collaborated. Many had no other fatherland than Art and Letters ; witness Erasmus, the greatest of humanists, who was born at Rotterdam,—then a German city,—studied at Paris University, “his well-beloved town,” then at Boulogne ; lectured at Oxford and at Cambridge, and finally lived in Switzerland, where he died. Let us remember that this mutual penetration of the arts, this co-ordination of efforts beyond the bounds of frontiers, contributed not a little to the prodigious intellectual efflorescence which was the Renaissance ; to that also is due the universal, humane character of the chief works of the time.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELIGIOUS WARS

Humanism, by leading the learned man of the Renaissance to study the Bible with as much passion for knowledge as the Greek and Latin texts, and by multiplying the editions of the sacred writings necessarily facilitated the spread of the ideas of the Reformation in France.

Corruption of the Papacy and of the Clergy—As in the other countries where that religious movement arose, the Reformation in France was provoked by the corruption rife in the sixteenth century amongst the higher ranks of clergy, not excepting the supreme chief, the Pope, whose shameless example was, in fact, the very source of the evil. The Life of Alexander VI (Borgia) had been one long scandal. Julius II painted himself truly when, in reply to Michael Angelo who had sculptured him with a book in his hand, he exclaimed : “ What, a book ? I am not a scholar ; give me a sword ! ” Indeed, he passed a large portion of his life in full armour, directing sieges, entering by the breach into fortified places, soldier and politician more than priest. Leo X was a fine scholar, tasting the pleasures of the intellect with the best and seeking only to enjoy life ; and the same may be said of his successor, Clement VIII. Forgetful of their mission and of the spiritual interests of Christianity, all led a magnificent existence, which knew all the refinements of luxury practised by the great temporal princes of their

century. They stopped at nothing which would increase their revenue: the sale of ecclesiastical offices; the abandonment as pledges to money-lenders of pontifical rights; the traffic in indulgences. As might have been expected, the Pope's example was imitated from top to bottom of the ecclesiastical ladder. In France, as elsewhere, venality existed, and, in consequence, plurality of offices in the Church; thus such and such a prelate was at the same time Archbishop of Rheims and Bishop of Toulon. Besides this, Bishops abandoned their dioceses for the court or for the army,¹ and left the direction to subordinates who themselves acted in the same way. In the end, the faithful frequently found themselves faced, for their instruction, with nothing more worthy than some petty cleric, uncultured, rude-mannered, who encouraged all the superstitions whence he drew his profits; charged highly for all the ceremonies of worship, and, following the example of the Court of Rome, sold indulgences to all who would pay for them. This last practice, above all, scandalized pious souls. "Behold," wrote the Dominican Guillaume Pepin at the opening of the sixteenth century, "these hawkers and criers of indulgences, who, with numberless deceptions and lies, sell Paradise at an agreed price as one sells horses and pigs at the Fair, calling: 'I offer a precious commodity—What?—The Kingdom of Heaven. For gold and silver, in bullion or in coin, for good shrouds, napkins, pewter pots, wheat, barley and other eatables.'"

Return to Primitive Christianity—Now, at the same time as these scandals were in all men's view, the spread of knowledge of the Bible resulting from the discovery of printing made known the text of the Gospels, hitherto a sealed book to the masses. Among men of sincere piety

¹ Louis XII on entering Milan (1506) had on his army staff three Cardinals, two Archbishops and five Bishops.

this knowledge provoked a desire to return to the primitive simplicity of the Christian religion and the actual teaching of Christ. Each page of the Bible, which preached renunciation, humility, poverty, gentleness, respect for all human life, proved that the chief among God's ministers trod the precepts of their divine Master underfoot at every moment of their existence. The glaring antithesis between the teaching of Christ as contained in the Gospels and the life of pride and depravity, the wealth, the participation in military violence, of the higher ranks of clergy, was the principal reason why many people in France at the beginning of the sixteenth century, including numerous ecclesiastics, desired a reform of the Church. Far from being a sign of scepticism, the movement for reform was a revelation of faith.

The Reformers in France : Calvin—The principal initiator of the Reformation in France was Calvin. Calvin (1509–1564), born at Noyon in Picardy, obliged to flee to Basle for refuge, wrote there his "Christian Institutions" (1535), the true manifesto of the French Reformation. He then settled at Geneva, whence he directed the movement in Western Europe till his death, Geneva becoming the capital of Protestantism. A severe logician, inspired by burning faith, and a will which bowed before no difficulty, he made clear and precise the ideas of Luther, from whose teaching his is distinguished above all by the absolute affirmation of the fatalist dogma of predestination : men are predestined to salvation or to damnation to all eternity, without their life, whether good or evil, being able to modify the divine decision. The Lutheran Reformation had conciliated the nobility in Germany by the secularization of the possessions of the Church ; there, it was aristocratic. Calvin instituted a severe and simple worship ; suppressed images and ceremonies ; denuded the churches and proscribed all hierarchy among the pastors chosen from the flock of the faithful ; his Reforma-

tion tended towards equality and was essentially democratic.

Before the rise of Calvin, a group of humanists called "the group of Meaux," because they gathered round the Bishop of Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet, had maintained, without strife, the ideas of the reformers. Amongst them was a mathematician and philosopher, Lefèvre d'Etaples, who had translated the Scriptures—"the source of all life," as he said, into French, and proclaimed the necessity of "leading back religion to its primitive purity." Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, sister of the King, had been won over to their ideas and Francis I himself, up till 1534, appeared to favour them.

Calvinism the Popular Religion. Its Progress—At this date, at the same time as the doctrines of Calvin began to spread in France, and to supplant there those of other reformers, the first persecutions took place, the most ferocious being the massacre in 1545 of the Vaudois (a heretical sect of old standing inhabiting the mountains of Vaucluse), in which more than 3,000 people lost their lives. But neither the capricious and intermittent suppression of Francis I, nor the more methodical persecutions of Henry II, succeeded in arresting the new ideas. In spite of the institution of a sort of Inquisition tribunal, the *Chambre ardente*, or "Burning-Court" (1547), which multiplied condemnations; in spite of the Edict of Ecouen, which ordained that one only penalty, death, might be pronounced for all heretics, the progress of Calvinism continued. It spread especially amongst the people, artisans, "mechanics" as they were called, who, because of their unspoiled faith, suffered most from the corruption of the clergy and the services. By about 1560 it had gained ground among the nobility, especially in the south and west. A great number of noblemen professed Calvinism, some from sincere conviction, many from policy or fashion. From whatever cause their adherence arose, it

transformed the situation by turning the scattered mass of the Huguenots into an organized party, possessing an army and leaders.

During the short reign of Francis II (1559-1560) the Lorraine family of the Guises governed and carried on the persecutions. Charles IX, brother of Francis II, succeeded him, and the Regency reverted to the Queen Mother, Catherine of Medici, a supple and ambitious Italian, not lacking in intelligence but incapable of great ideas and totally devoid of moral sense. She remained in power until 1574. She adopted a "see-saw" policy between the two religious parties. At first she was tolerant towards the Huguenots, the feebler party, and named as Chancellor the lawyer Michel de l'Hopital, a man of moderation and rare worth, who was fond of the saying, "the sword counts for little against the spirit." He declared an amnesty for all heretics under condemnation; called the Conference of Poissy where the greatest theologians of both religions heard each other's views (1561); authorized, by his edict of January, 1562, Protestant worship in the country districts and town suburbs, and attempted by the wisest measures to restrain violent passions. The massacre at Vassy, however, of twenty Calvinists by the followers of the Duke de Guise, gave the signal for the outbreak of the religious wars (1 March, 1562).

The Wars : Religion above Patriotism—These wars were to continue for thirty years, and fanaticism and the customs of a time when a human life counted for less even than in our day contributed to the unheard-of savagery with which they were carried on. We must further emphasize that religious hatreds were stronger than national hatreds, for in both camps on several occasions, there was no hesitation in appealing to foreigners accounted enemies of the realm; the Catholics asked help from Spain, the Protestants from England.

“ See-Saw ” Policy of the Crown—In the midst of successive wars Catherine de Medici continued her “ see-saw ” policy of expediency. Now she was conciliatory to the Protestants when she saw the Calvinist party definitely defeated and harmless (Edict of Pacification of Amboise, 1563 ; Peace of St. Germain, 1570) ; now aggressive and intolerant (disgracing of l’Hopital and project for the massacre of leading Protestants, 1568) when she feared her power was in danger. This, for example, happened when Admiral Coligny, one of the principal leaders of the Huguenots, gained a great ascendancy over the young Charles IX. After the failure of an attempt at assassination of Coligny by a soldier in her pay (22 August, 1572), she took advantage of the presence in Paris of a great number of Protestant gentlemen for the marriage of her daughter Marguerite with King Henry of Navarre, to obtain from the feeble Charles IX an order for a general massacre, which was carried out in the night of the Feast of St. Bartholomew and the following days, in Paris and in several large towns (24–26 August, 1572). Twenty thousand Huguenots were slaughtered. At the end of this “ shameful bath of blood,” one of the blots on the history of France, the Pope sent his congratulations to the very Christian King and his mother. Soon after the Peace of la Rochelle (1573), which conceded to Calvinists a relative liberty of conscience, Charles IX died, haunted day and night by the vision of “ massacred corpses ” and “ hideous faces covered with blood ” (30 May, 1574).

His brother, Henry III, hastened from Poland, of which he was King, only to continue the indecisive policy of his mother ; but his entirely superficial religion, allied to a profound depravity, his frivolity and unscrupulousness, soon made the King despised by all, and really helped the formation of the great Leagues. To counterbalance the Calvinist Union (a sort of federative republic of Protestants created immediately after St. Bartholomew) and the

party of the " Politics " or Malcontents formed of moderate Catholics revolted by the civil wars, and of the ambitious who were disappointed, the mass of intransigent Catholics grouped themselves together in the League or Catholic Union. This powerful association elected Henry of Guise as its head, and he rapidly became the real master of France (1577).

Decay of Royal Prestige : Guise—Wars, however, continued and from hatred of the Guises, at the close of each, the King showed tolerance (Edicts of Beaulieu, 1576 ; of Bergerac and of Poitiers, 1577 ; of Fleix, 1580). This policy exasperated the Catholics, who flocked to join the League, especially when on the death of Henry III's last brother (1584) the heir to the throne was the Huguenot Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre. The League then became political as much as religious, and its centres, scattered through all the land and strongly organized, formed a State within the State. It allied with the King of Spain, Philip II (Treaty of Joinville, 1585) and imposed its policy of sectarian intransigence on Henry III by the Treaty of Nemours (July, 1585), which granted to the League fortified places as surety. Henry III began to fear Guise more than the Huguenots. Guise, the " pillar of the Church," now a popular idol because of his name, his bravery and his exploits against the Huguenots, dreamt of profiting by all this to depose the King. At the same time that one of the King's favourites let the royal army suffer defeat from Henry of Navarre at Coutras (October, 1587), Henry of Guise, in two skirmishes, dispersed the auxiliaries sent from Germany to aid the Protestants. He re-entered Paris in spite of the King's forbidding him, in the midst of delirious enthusiasm (9 May, 1588). Paris was to be for five years the seat of bloody disturbances in which all the people of the capital took part (1588-1593).

The League : Its Double Heterogeneity—It is difficult to understand why the humblest and most oppressed portion

of the population thus declared itself on the side of a faction of great nobles more ambitious than Catholic, whose designs were entirely opposed to its aspirations ; it is necessary to realize that the League, now wholly heterogeneous in its composition, was so also by its means of propaganda and the reforms it projected. For a long time, preachers in their sermons excited the people to fratricidal hate, and to civil war ; urged the restoration of the Inquisition, and expelled from their pulpits priests suspected of lukewarmness. Their fanaticism did not hesitate to use the tricks of the demagogue to assure an army to the princes. Many recruits were found among the needy crowd of the " Basoche " ¹ and of the University. But the recruiting agents and the ferocious priests took upon themselves specially the influencing of the people ; first through their fanaticism, by giving out that Henry III had joined the Huguenots, and that 10,000 Calvinists hidden in the Faubourg St. Germain were ready to make a St. Bartholomew of the Catholics ; and yet more by exhibiting, after the execution of Mary Stuart, in the Cemetery of St. Severin, in a series of scenes of atrocious and calculated realism, the persecutions and tortures endured by English Catholics for their faith ; and by organizing processions and flagellations in which brigades of the Parisians were formed (June-July, 1587) ; finally, by giving a glimpse to the people of a better lot, promising them to provide for their miseries and to reduce the crushing burdens which weighed on them. The first who joined the League were the porters of the markets and quays, odd-jobmen and fighters attracted by the prospect of a scuffle ; then the various butchers' corporations, who were not daunted by the sight of blood ; and finally, the horse-dealers, with an interest in the war. But clever propaganda got hold of all sections of the populace ;

¹ Name given under the old régime to the corporation of clerks attached to the Law Courts.

the Parisians, animated by a sincere faith, easily excitable and wrought up, were impressed by the demonstrations of religious fanaticism, and naïvely believed the promises of the demagogues, as they were to do again and again in their history. The chiefs of the League in their plans for reform declared that "the poor, common people, who sustain all the other ranks, are to-day shamefully oppressed in a thousand different ways." The adventures into which the ambition of the Guises drew the lower classes of Paris, in order to win ascendancy by their strength and numbers, were to cost the people five years of bloody sedition, and two sieges, of which the second, lasting four months, saw 40,000 inhabitants perish from hunger alone.

After the Day of Barricades (12 May, 1588) Henry III was able to gauge the Duke of Guise's strength; he had him assassinated at Blois, and also his brother the Cardinal. Abandoned by the Catholics and forced to unite with the Huguenots, the King came with Henry of Navarre to blockade Paris and was assassinated in his turn by a monk, a fanatical champion of the League (1 August, 1588).

Recrudescence of Patriotic Ideals—His successor, the King of Navarre, who took the name of Henry IV, could not conquer his kingdom while he remained Protestant. His victories of Arques (1589) and of Ivry (1590) were fruitless. Fruitless also was the long siege by which he starved Paris, the fanaticism of whose people was maintained by monastic adherents of the League, a siege which was raised by a Spanish army; for Philip II continued to inspire the leaders of the League and to finance them largely. But after Henry IV had abjured Calvinism (St. Denis, July, 1593), thanks to the general indifference, he became King, though not without buying over one after another the submissions of the chief Leaguers. Thus, Governor Brissac sold him Paris (1594). The King entered

the town just as the Spanish garrison, sent by Philip II, left it. "A good journey, sirs," he cried to them from the St. Denis Gate, "but do not return." A year later, in the desire to cement the reconciliation of all Frenchmen by a national war against Spain, he found them again opposed to him; but this time he fought them as Spaniards, not as Catholics. Patriotic struggles took the field again in place of religious hatreds (1595).

The wars of religion were definitely closed by the Edict of Nantes (13 August, 1598), which assured liberty of conscience and worship to Protestants throughout the realm, and admitted them to all offices on the same terms as the Catholics. It gave them, besides, the right to hold national synods, and granted them about one hundred places of security. Thus Henry IV began the building up again of a country which, after thirty years of savage warfare, was, to quote a contemporary, Pasquier, nothing more than "the corpse of France."

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRENCH PEOPLE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Before the Religious Wars: Royal Absolutism—The absolute monarchy for which Louis XI paved the way was established by Francis I. It maintained that "the sovereign disposes of all the resources of the kingdom and even of the life of his subjects 'according to his good pleasure'; the law itself is only the expression of the King's will." The absolutist work of Francis I and his son Henry II was entirely destroyed by the religious wars which brought back to the realm a period resembling that of the feudal anarchy; it was to be begun again by Henry IV at the close of the sixteenth century and brought to perfection in the following century by Richelieu.

We shall consider how the various classes of society reacted under the unlimited development of royal authority.

The Nobility—The nobility forgave Francis I for the loss of its independence by only seeing in him a "King of the gentlemen"; egoistic, idle and frivolous, but an accomplished knight and open-handed, Francis I knew well how to gain obedience from a nobility whose qualities and faults he so well personified and whom he tamed by his favours. The nobles were, moreover, impoverished by the loss of their rights of exercising justice, the bad

administration of their lands, and, above all, by the influx of precious metals, recently discovered, which lessened the value of money; they needed the King's gifts to keep up a luxury which they could not do without. To content them, the King created a crowd of lucrative sinecures or employed them as servants; thus at that time was constituted the Court, composed of several thousands of parasite nobles, who under Francis I cost the realm annually more than 250 million francs of the present day.

The Clergy—As to the clergy, we have seen ¹ the abuses and corruption that tainted them at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Concordat of 1516, which gave the King the right to nominate most of the members of their higher ranks of office, only aggravated the evils, by allowing the sovereign to people the ecclesiastical benefices with his favourites, men and women, and soldiers. The lower ranks of the clergy, reduced to poverty, and often to penury, grew discontented and often rebellious; they got into a frame of mind at once ultra-Catholic and demagogic, as became apparent at the time of the League.²

The Middle Classes—The middle classes did not oppose the establishment of an absolute monarchy, for the King knew how to win them over by the sale of "offices" or public functions. This was, on the one hand, a benefit to the royal finances, and on the other an advantage to the classes in question, who, considerably enriched by the prosperity of commerce and industry in the first half of the century, were ambitious to participate in the exercise of power, and attained to it. Thus a new nobility was created entitled the "nobility of the robe," as vain and jealous of its privileges as the nobility of the sword, and it also tended to become hereditary. From the seventeenth century, the King's best servants were recruited

¹ See above, page 52.

² See above, page 58.

from the ranks of this new nobility and from the middle classes.

Peasants and workmen formed the large bulk, about nine-tenths of the population.

Peasants—The situation of the peasants was much improved after the close of the Hundred Years' War. The new contests took place now outside the frontiers ; a certain security replaced anarchy and feudal robbery ; above all, in consideration of the extent of land lying fallow as a consequence of the continual strife, the nobles often granted the peasants a diminution of duties, and almost everywhere a lightening of their painful conditions of life and of labour. The raising of the market-value of food-stuffs allowed a betterment of their conditions ; royalty at least did not oppress them, though it hardly concerned itself with their existence. Many were able to save enough to become proprietors of their plots of land. Altogether, their life was then less wretched than it had been or would be at any time till the Revolution. It is safe to say that the period between the close of the English wars and the beginning of the religious wars was an age of relative happiness in the sombre history of the peasant under the old régime ; but hard times were in store for the French peasantry,—the horrible religious strife in which he was always the first to suffer, and, after a time of peace under Henry IV, the inhumane century of Louis XIV.

Artisans—In the towns, on the contrary, the condition of the artisans had certainly become much worse. The abundance of American gold, favourable to traders and peasants, was not of benefit to the artisans, whose wages showed little increase, though living became more costly in consequence of the taxes and excise which the King and the towns imposed on the most necessary merchandise.

Taxes, higher in France than in any other country, though paid easily by the peasant, weighed heavily on the

artisan. Corporations formed at that time were rare (vinegar-makers, distillers, clock-makers), and new industries were introduced by foreign workmen; Italians formed new silk-manufactories at Tours; and imported the art of glass-blowing and that of the manufacture of gold and silver cloth. Another social factor appearing at that time saddened the life of the artisan: his chances of becoming a patron simply by the execution of a *chef-d'œuvre* became practically nil. From the sixteenth century the patrons, banded together into a sort of caste known as a "patronate," multiplied obstacles in the path to mastership, and arranged that only the sons of "patrons" could attain to it. Moreover, it became more and more difficult for the poorer artisans to become patrons even in the trades not organized into corporations, for with the progress of industry a small fortune in silver and raw materials was necessary to get established independently. Thus the great hope which lightened the lives of the artisan and stimulated his toil, vanished. Among urban populations there was already formed a class of needy malcontents, prompt with enthusiasm for any faction which promised them a better life, not knowing on whom to place responsibility for their wretched lot. This class was to be prominent in all troublous times, beginning with the religious wars; thus we have seen such men spurred to fanaticism, by the parish priests of the League, unawares paving the way to the throne for Guise; this gives the measure of their blindness and proves their ignorance of their own true interests.

To sum up, during the rise of royal power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, members of the higher ranks of clergy, nobles, and bourgeoisie saw their prosperity developed or assured. The peasants have nothing to complain of, if nothing to boast of, in regard to a monarch who burdens them with taxes but leaves them to work in peace. The lower clergy, and, above all, the artisans

were gradually reduced to a condition of wretchedness.

Acceptance of Royal Authority—All, however, accepted without protest the enormous taxes, continually on the increase, which the King levied as he pleased. It is true, the nobles and clergy were frequently exempt, and the Third Estate had to provide practically alone for all expenses. The impositions themselves, tolls, aids and excise, were not enough to make up the deficit caused by the luxury of the Court, the prodigality of the King, the needs of the administration, and the pay of foreign mercenaries. The kings had recourse to more or less justifiable expedients; they contracted the first loans, sold positions, titles of nobility, and exemptions from taxes to pretenders to nobility, and created in the municipalities new "masterships," which the corporations had to buy back in order to get rid of them.¹ Francis I went so far as to start a "royal lottery" and despoiled of its silver railing the tomb of St. Martin at Tours.

The docility of the peasants is explained by the gratitude they felt towards the monarch who had freed them from the exactions of the nobles by keeping the latter at his Court. For whatever reason, all classes recognized the King's omnipotence; all agreed with the address of the Paris Parliament to Francis I that "to call your power in question would be a kind of sacrilege. We know well that you are above the law."

After the Wars of Religion: Anarchy and Ruin—The absolute authority was broken by the crisis of the wars of religion; the nobles, Catholics and Protestants alike, got into the habit of treating with the King, as one power treats with another. "A large portion of the nobility does not any longer desire a king" (Cardinal d'Ossat). The governors believed themselves sovereigns

¹ Because these "masterships" were in the nature of competitions for the "masters" of corporations.

in their own provinces and acted as such ; but in opposing the royal authority they only sought to satisfy their greed, not to regain their independence, as was clearly seen when Henry IV freed himself from these rapacious but servile scoundrels by means of a few sacks of gold and some titles. In the course of its troubles the nation had realized their incapacity, and sounded the depths of their immorality ; once again, the chief virtue of royalty was to have freed the country from its pillaging nobles.

In the towns industry was stopped ; the country was frightfully devastated ; the roads torn up, the bridges cut. Henry IV said in 1595 that the farms and almost all the villages were uninhabited and deserted. Nearly everywhere labour had ceased. The nobles, ruined by the wars, were often obliged to sell their lands to the enriched middle-classes, and they recouped themselves by pitilessly oppressing the peasants whose misery was indescribable. " Long live the war ! " cried a dissolute noble in the " *Satire Menippée*," a celebrated pamphlet against the League, published in 1594. " I shall harry the cattle and the churls as much as I choose ; there shall not be peasant, labourer, or merchant within ten leagues of me, who shall not pass through my hands and pay me a tax or ransom." The exasperated country people rose in revolt in Dauphiné in 1579-1580, when the peasants of the two religions offered armed resistance to the collectors of seignorial dues ; likewise in Normandy (1590) and in the district of Comminges in Gascony (1592).

The " Croquants " : Hostility between Peasants and Nobles—The most important revolt, however, was that of the " Croquants " and " Tard-Avisés " of Limousin and Perigord, who took arms against the nobles in February, 1594. Men from different parishes to the number of 8,000 came together in a forest and decided, whatever their religion, to unite against the bandit nobles who

“in every way and everywhere treated them as slaves” and exacted in dues from them thrice the sum permitted by the feudal law. The movement spread to Guienne and Saintonge. By May 30th, 200,000 peasants were gathered round Bergerac, hoisting their hats on their weapons and crying: “Long live the Third Estate! Liberty! Liberty!” The King, alarmed at the agitation to which as yet the nobles were indifferent, used persuasion to disperse it; he promised them pardon and the cancellation of taxes in arrears. He showed mercy because he himself knew from experience the poverty of the country and the cruelty of the nobles; and he was not an ill-natured man, being equally incapable of feelings of revenge as of gratitude.

The agitation, appeased for the moment by the King's clemency, broke out again in 1595; the “Croquants” were led by the persistence of their ills to a more energetic and co-ordinated action. “At first,” says a contemporary, de Thou, the historian, “they rose in self-defence, but as their numbers increased their boldness increased also. They elected officers who established some sort of discipline, but they rapidly turned to brigandage.” At the States Assembly of Perigord they demanded the nomination of a magistrate of the countryside (i.e. towns, villages and country districts as opposed to fortified towns), similar to the tribune of the people of ancient Rome; the reduction of taxes, and in place of feudal tribunals, ordinary jurisdiction to decide their differences with the landlords. Their complaint is a moving one. “The countryside has been completely ruined by a great number of brigands; even the poor labourers have suffered so many times from the quartering of men-at-arms of one or the other party, who have reduced them to hunger, violated women and girls, often taken their oxen and caused their lands to be left uncultivated. . . . The towns (the urban gentry) do not trouble about

the ruin of the poor people, for our ruin is their wealth."

The nobles, disturbed by the extent of the movement, formed a league against the "peoples" of the south-west of France, whom they accused of wishing to found a democracy in imitation of the Swiss; and of treading underfoot all divine and human traditions by refusing to pay the taxes and tithes "ordered from the beginning of the world for the service of God." All the nobles were indignant at the idea of these rustics who, reduced by them to a condition more bestial than human, took it into their heads that their ills, although time-honoured, were none the less unjust, and that they themselves were at one and the same time the most indispensable people in the country and the most oppressed; de Thou echoes the fury of the nobles when he attributes to the Perigord peasants a "natural ferocity" because they "refused to take up again the yoke which they had shaken off." He immediately adds: "Most of them perished in various ways." Such was the conclusion of this powerful but confused effort. The "Croquants" insurrection, one of the most important of the attempts of the peasants to free themselves, under the old régime, is significant of the existing, latent hostility between the nobles and their subjects.

Hostility between "Apprentices" and "Patrons"—At the close of the century, hostility also began to show itself between workmen and "patrons." The "patron" who works in the workshop with his apprentices has disappeared. Most often he is a master, taking the customers' money without any manual work himself; and in consequence is considered an exploiter by the workmen. The two classes are on the road to complete separation; they range themselves into distinct and at times hostile fraternities, each having its days of ceremonial and mysterious signs of recognition. In Paris,

when a patron dismissed a "companion" shoemaker, the members of his fraternity put an interdict on his workshop and prevented the non-affiliated "journeyman" from working; they declared a veritable local strike; but these strikes rarely succeeded, at least at this period, for the patron easily found substitutes among the thousands of men without work or of peasants driven by misery from the country and reduced to begging. On March 4th, 1596, nearly 8,000 beggars thronged about the Cemetery of the Innocents.

Increase of Royal Power—Henry IV was not a laborious administrator, but he was a clever and resourceful politician; he knew how to surround himself with honest men like Sully, President Jeannin, and Villeroi. His personal work was to consolidate the royal authority; by depriving of power the great nobles whom he mistrusted; by keeping close supervision over the provincial and urban assemblies, even by encroaching on their rights; and by reaccustoming his subjects to obedience.

Sully and he, with a boastfulness shared in common, have much exaggerated the benefit of the measures taken to favour industry and agriculture; the country, thanks to its vitality, had only need of peace to get to work again. The free circulation of corn, however; the forbidding of the Treasury to seize agricultural implements and equipment or cattle; the limitation of the rights of the chase did to some degree favour the improvement of agriculture. On the other hand, the planting of mulberry-trees, the creation or protection of various industries of luxury productions (silks, gold cloth, silver tapestries and Venetian glass works) did not bring about lasting improvements. The "patrons'" tyranny was momentarily broken by a fiscal measure—the institution of a legal fee, on payment of which any "apprentice" might set up for himself. The finances were put in order by Sully, who, if he was not a clever financier, was economical and

scrupulous. He found new resources in the "Paulette," in consideration for the payment of which tax the holders of offices made their positions hereditary.

The tolerant policy of the King, however, marked by the Edict of Nantes ¹ won him the hatred of the intransigent Catholics: not a year went by without an attempt at regicide, almost all at the instigation of the Jesuits, whom the King decided to expel (1595).

A Project for a European League of Nations—The foreign policy of Henry IV up to 1609 was apparently peaceful and prudent. Sully has even revealed that his "Grand Design" was to realize, in 1609, a Europe unified and at peace, by means of the destruction of the House of Austria, the expulsion of the Turks to Asia, and a general remodelling of political boundaries. Three forms of worship were to be authorized—Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. A General Council, consisting of forty citizens of different States "highly qualified and, above all, foreseeing and circumspect," would be charged to guard the common interests of all the people of the "Very Christian Republic." Under this, six special Councils were to decide, respectively—the affairs of Northern Europe; of the Empire; of the ancient domains of the House of Austria (Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, etc.); of South Italy; of North Italy and Switzerland; of East Europe. It is apparent that this is in embryo a real League of Nations, limited, it is true, to Christian countries and, as such, a League to which wars against heretics would not be forbidden. Unfortunately, knowledge of the character of Henry IV, incapable of so vast a conception, and the silence in writings of the time of all reference to the "Grand Design," lead us to the conclusion that the King never intended to realize it.

¹ See above, page 60.

² He recalled them in 1605, their departure not having checked the intrigues.

This opinion is confirmed, when one knows the true and secret motive, of little honour to Henry IV, of the war which he planned in 1610 against the Emperor of Spain; far from being designed to end war in Europe, as Sully in his "Memoirs" would have us believe, this struggle aimed only at securing the return of the Princess de Condé, whom her husband had placed in Brussels under the protection of the Low Countries and Spain, to remove her from the approaches of an all-powerful seducer. Thus Henry IV, in order to satisfy a passion, did not hesitate to "set fire to the four corners of Christendom" (Villeroi).

Two days before he was to take command of his troops, a fanatic, Ravailiac, luckier than his numerous predecessors, killed him with two blows of a knife (14 May, 1610).

Verdict on Henry IV—Let us review for a moment the reign of Henry IV, which, according to some authorities, was one of the most prosperous periods known to the country, owing to the personal qualities of the King. In reality, the chief part of the progress in France was due to the robust vitality of the French people. The King, it is true, had the undeniable merit of maintaining the peace and order necessary for reconstruction. Did he do this to benefit the country? Was it not more likely the effect of the weariness he felt after twenty years of internal struggles? The memory of some of his sayings justifies this conclusion.¹ The fundamental egotism of his nature and the small consideration he showed for the happiness and even the life of his subjects, in planning, in a crisis of personal infatuation, a bloody and ruinous war, from which the nation was only saved by his death, all tend to confirm this. Yet the nation inevitably felt regret for his loss and entitled him "Father of his subjects." The

¹ He said at the beginning of his reign, "France and I need to take breath."

twelve years of his reign had been marked by a lessening of religious intolerance, of wars and of commercial and corporative servitude. Coming between Henry III, a despicable debauchee, and Louis XIV, a hardened despot, Henry IV seemed a good King.

CHAPTER IX

ZENITH OF ABSOLUTISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Crisis for Royalty after Henry IV—After the death of Henry IV, the new King, Louis XIII, being a minor, the regency was entrusted to Marie de Medici, his mother. To use the words of Sully, power fell “into strange hands.” Fourteen years were enough to allow the incapable and greedy nobles and the royal favourites to destroy any work of reparation effected since 1598. In the course of the troublous times that ensued the same names appear as had appeared in the religious wars ; but the sons of those who fought from religious fervour, only fought now for money, lucrative posts and the payment of their debts ; they made the security of the country a matter of purchase.

Marie de Medici allowed herself to be controlled by her favourite, a worthless, low-class Florentine, Concini. He wished to gain forgiveness for his favoured position by his servility and complacence towards the great, who twice took up arms and each time sold their submission for a good price ¹ (1614, 1616).

¹ By way of edification, we give some figures. In 1614 Condé received 450,000 livres ; Longueville 100,000 pension ; Mayenne 300,000 “to get married with.” In 1616, Condé had 1,500,000 granted to him. And the same Condé, with monstrous hypocrisy, attempted insurrection because the Court was ruining the finances and crushing the people with taxes. The livre, the currency of the ancient régime, had a value of about four gold francs.

During this period the Protestants made agitation and secured a political constitution, forming a State within the State. The Parliament raised remonstrances about the bad government ; the States-General of 1614, the last before 1789, was paralysed by disputes between the Third Estate and the nobility. We quote the most characteristic episode : a deputy of the Third Estate ventured to compare the three Orders to three brothers ; the nobles thereupon protested to the King " that they did not wish the sons of shoemakers and cobblers to call them brothers, and that there was as much difference between them and the Third Estate as between a master and his valet."

After a " coup d'état " which overthrew the Queen Regent, and slew her favourite, power fell into the hands of a friend of the young King, de Luynes (April, 1617). He showed rather more firmness, but was nevertheless unable to bring to submission the nobles, who were in revolt a second time, or to subdue the Protestants ; he died while besieging the latter in Montauban (1621).

Royal authority, enfeebled and discredited since the death of Henry IV, was developed into full absolutism by Richelieu in less than twenty years.

Richelieu Consolidates the Royal Power—Richelieu, having attained to power by intrigue, kept himself there by the ascendancy that his intellect and his inflexible energy, rigorous and pitiless, knew how to win over the feeble and easily-swayed mind of Louis XIII. He repressed all infractions of royal edicts by the great nobles (Edict against Duelling), as well as their open revolts against the King, and, above all, their conspiracies against himself. He was hard, without regard for the culprit's rank ; thus he had beheaded the Duke de Montmorency, " first Christian and first baron of the realm," King Henry IV's godson, who had attempted to raise in revolt against the King his province of Languedoc

(1632). The nobles, conspire as they would, were no longer able, as a fact, to imperil the position of royalty. Richelieu, however, by the demolition of fortified castles, by the suppression of the offices of Constable and Admiral, and by the sending of intendants or governors into the provinces, succeeded in wresting all political power from the nobility. He twice attacked the Protestants, whose agitations and privileges he deemed dangerous for the unity of the realm (1626-1629). The Peace of Alais took from them their political guarantees, but left them all their civil and religious liberties. Finally, Richelieu roughly reminded the Parliament, which claimed certain political rights, that its business must be limited to the execution of justice.

He developed the army, the navy and the colonies (Canada and the Antilles), but administered the finances badly ; taxation increased under him, and his many expedients to raise money became an abuse which provoked the people to revolts which he suppressed ruthlessly.¹ He accentuated the centralizing of the Government by reorganizing the Council of State and exactly defining the functions of the four Secretaries of State who, with the Superintendent of Finances and the Chancellor, became, in effect, Ministers.

Lastly, he made use of men of letters whom he kept in his pay to affirm the divine origin of the Kings. He understood fully the power of the press as a means of influencing public opinion, and encouraged the foundation of the first public periodical, the " Gazette de France " ; he also had scattered through the country pamphlets which he inspired and in which the enemies of the King and of his Minister were treated with withering satire.

Richelieu and the People—To sum up, he was a great despot, who died detested because want and financial distress increased up to the end of his ministry without

¹ See below, page 99.

his ceasing to show himself implacable towards the great simply because they were great, and towards the small because they were unimportant. "All politicians agree," he wrote, "that if the people were too much at their ease it would be impossible to keep them within the laws of duty." He liked to compare them with mules, "who are spoiled by a long rest more than by work." Historians have asserted that the establishment of absolutism and the military victories by which he added to France, Alsace, Roussillon and Artois made up for the terrible home distress, and all the blood that was spilt, and have called him "The Great Cardinal." Richelieu died on December 7th, 1642; Louis XIII followed him to the grave on May 14th, 1643.

The Frondes. The Revival of Opposition—The new King, Louis XIV, was five years of age, so Anne of Austria was proclaimed Regent, and she called to power the Italian, Mazarin, a protégé of Richelieu. The King's minority was marked by a new crisis, brought about by the coalition of the political and social forces Richelieu had kept in check. The princes and the nobles joined forces for a last aristocratic resistance. The Parliament of Paris, encouraged by the revolution accomplished at the time by the English Parliament, revived its ancient political ambitions; the people of the large towns, crushed under taxes without hope of their being lightened, rose in rebellion; for the Mazarin administration, in dire straits to raise money, had recourse to a series of financial expedients and fresh taxes, which in the end exasperated the Parisians. The troubles which followed are known as the Frondes, a name taken from a dangerous game, which consists in throwing stones with a "fronde" (sling) and which was then very popular among the street-urchins. Through all the episodes of the insurrection the three strands are traceable: the nobility, Parliament, and the town populations.

The Parliament was the first to raise rebellion. By the declaration of the Chamber of St. Louis, it sought to limit the absolute monarchy and to give France a Constitution; the third article asserted that no tax might be arbitrarily levied, and the sixth introduced Habeas Corpus, a right the English already possessed and which the French have not yet obtained. Enthusiasm among the lower classes rose high.

The Court, alarmed at this, resorted to violence,¹ and the proceeding led to the second "day of the Barricades"; next it besieged Paris, where the magistrates were supported by both princes and people; but when Parliament saw that the nobles' intrigues tended to quite other ends than the public liberties, and as at bottom it remained faithful to the royal authority, it made peace (Treaty of Rueil, March, 1649).

The nobles only wished, as under the minority of Louis XIII, to divide governorships and pensions amongst themselves or to serve on the King's Council. Their caprice, their amorous intrigues, directed their politics also, and they changed from one camp to the other according to the needs of their personal interest. Thus the leaders of the movement, the Prince de Condé, and Monsieur, the King's brother, were now allies, now enemies; now for the King, now against him. Condé, whose arrest had served as a pretext for the intervention of the nobles, fought the royal army at Bléneau, and the Faubourg St. Antoine (1652); then he placed himself at the service of Spain, whose troops he led at the battles of Arras (1654) and of the Dunes (1658). The grave Marshal de Turenne himself, drawn into the revolt by the charms of a beautiful "Frondeuse," the Duchess of Longueville, was beaten by the King's troops at Rethel (1650), then returned to lead them and ensure their victory. In this rebellion of the nobles there was not a single

¹ See page 78, story of Broussel.

disinterested or generous motive. France was put to fire and sword by greedy, frivolous people who snapped their fingers at the common good and for whom the distraction of the disturbances was one long pleasure party. Michelet said: "One is sickened in telling the tale."

The people of the big towns, especially Paris and Bordeaux, were the third element of the Fronde. In Paris, they had obstructed the streets with barricades and chains at the news that the Court, by way of reprisals against the Parliament, had arrested one of the oldest and most popular of the Councillors, the "Bonhomme" Broussel (26 August, 1648—Second "Day of the Barricades"). Broussel had great power in the Parliament, where he had sat since the days of Henry IV, and he was specially loved by the people, who knew him as poor and incorruptible. The Queen counted on the conservative spirit of the town militia against the armed "riff-raff" who swarmed in the streets. But the middle-class townspeople, liberal, and as was said at Court, "infested with the public good," cried "Long live Broussel!" and the "goodman" was set at liberty (28 August, 1648). After this victory it was again the Parisians who heaped their sarcasms on Mazarin and the Queen, and forced them to flee to the provinces. This outburst, however, was not revolutionary; the middle-classes and the Parliament were conservative; as to the people, ignorant, always exploited, they had only seen the opportunity for publicly making known their discontent, no more. Moreover, the middle-classes of the towns feared, for themselves, the fury of the lower-classes.

At Bordeaux, trouble lasted longer than in the capital and was more dangerous for royalty. A democratic organization, the *Ormée*, which recruited its members amongst the lower populations of the towns, the artisans and the poor, certainly had republican ideas. It set

itself up against the aristocratic Fronde, floated the red flag from the Town Hall and raised a revolutionary army ; but the royal troops, entering the town after its capitulation, were greeted by the hurrahs of all the populace (3 July, 1653).

Effects of the Fronde—There was one undeniable general effect of the Fronde ; the royal power was more consolidated than ever before, the last adversaries of absolutism, the Parliament and Princes, having been beaten and humiliated. Another effect which favoured the King's re-entry of Paris (October, 1652), followed by that of Mazarin (February, 1653), was the general weariness. The Cardinal, thenceforth all powerful, came to an arrangement with Superintendent Fouquet to rob the State at his ease and accumulate an immense fortune. He died surrounded by royal pomp and the respectful awe of those who in the course of the troubles had insulted him most freely (9 March, 1661).

During the Fronde the French people suffered especially from the ruin of the country, ravaged by men-at-arms in the pay of the King or the princes. After the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which ended the "Thirty Years' War," there swept down on France a crowd of adventurers from all lands, who laid waste the Northern and Eastern provinces by the same horrible methods that they had just employed to devastate Germany. They destroyed the crops, pillaged, massacred and employed refinements of torture to force the peasants to tell of their secret stores of savings ; the poor people fled into the woods and caves. They were reduced by hunger to living on grass, bran, slugs and all sorts of carrion. The plague appeared, to add to their other scourges. The cemeteries were too small to contain the corpses. The King's government and the princes cared little for the people's sufferings. An aged priest, St. Vincent de Paul, appealed to private charity and carried out an admirable work of

relief. But what was the misery relieved by him in comparison with the general wretchedness ?

Louis XIV : The King and the Man—The day after Mazarin's death, Louis XIV summoned the Secretaries of State and said to them : " I shall in future be my own Minister ; you will assist me with your counsel when I require it of you." He believed that the King " is a superior and divine being, that the State is comprised in him, that the will of all the people is contained in his will, and that he who is born subject should obey without judging for himself." The whole theory of the divine right of Kings is contained in these few phrases of his " Memoirs." Louis XIV believed himself " a living image of the divinity," " a vice-regent of God."

Yet, in the bulk of his good qualities and his defects, he was only an ordinary mortal. He was orderly, punctual and conscientious over the duties which his " trade of King " required, and possessed a certain capacity for work, which has, however, been grossly exaggerated because his successors had none. His intelligence, nevertheless, was but mediocre ; his piety, his attachment to the surface of religion, did not prevent him from leading a scandalous private life ; his sensuality was great and unrestrained, as was his egotism. Lastly, his pride was enormous, almost beyond belief.

He organized life at Court with a luxury unknown before. He surrounded himself by a crowd of guards and servants (The King's Household), and, seeking to gather round him all the great nobles of the realm, reserved his favours for courtiers only. Not wishing to live in Paris, of which the Fronde had left him bad memories, he settled in 1682 in the Grand Palace of Versailles.¹ There he offered hospitality to his Court, who in return worshipped his every action ; the King entertained the nobles. Gay in the early period, the life at Court grew to be

¹ See below, page 110.

stilted and magnificent ; and when, with old age, the King became pious, it was insupportably dull.

Violation of Liberties—When Louis XIV assumed the reins of power, the absolute monarchy was already established. The various classes of society, either no longer had their own life or strength to resist like the clergy and nobility, or politically were of no moment, like the Third Estate. It was therefore easy for him to refuse all control, all division of power, even to take from Parliament the right of remonstrance (1673) and to exact docility from all the Assemblies. The King adjudged himself master of the life and liberty of his subjects, and imprisoned them in his fortresses simply by letters under his seal. He supervised their thoughts by a rigorous censorship, and a " Black Cabinet " which opened private letters. Louis XIV increased still further the powers of the Secretaries of State and the provincial intendants ; but he remained the active spirit in the Government, and, as he had announced, was himself his own Prime Minister. He administered affairs with the aid of the middle-classes to prove, as he wrote in speaking of his Ministers, " that he had no intention of sharing his authority with them."

The Work of Colbert—Louis XIV took as his confidential agent, Colbert, a draper's son of Rheims, who had ably administered the ill-acquired fortune of Mazarin. Colbert was an ambitious upstart, gruff, greedy and pitiless, who piled up wealth too quickly, but he possessed an enormous capacity for work, order and method and a clear mind. Working sixteen hours a day, achieving as much as nine French Ministers to-day, he was Louis XIV's " plodding ox " (Michelet).

Colbert realized that a king who wishes to take precedence of all others must be able to rely on good finances ; he set to work to reorganize them and to develop commerce and industry. He got the accounts into order ;

made financiers guilty of speculation disgorge their gains, and collected more advantageously for the State, taxes increasing from 32 to 100 millions. Louis XIV's wars, however, rose in cost continually, and from 1672 Colbert had recourse to "extraordinary measures" (raising of loans and sale of offices). He created large-scale industry in France, notably that of weaving, and had the first factories built, a sort of industrial barracks of which one, at Abbeville, held 6,500 workmen. He protected its rights by regulations going into minutest details and even took a share in new manufactures, such as the tapestry-weaving of Beauvais. He encouraged trade by cutting canals, by improving roads, by constructing merchant vessels, and by granting bonuses to shipowners; and he founded colonial companies to assure traffic with French possessions.

Colbert was unsuccessful in giving a new impulse to agriculture, whose diversity did not accord with his mania for uniformity and regulation, the more so since his harshness did not lead him to any alleviation of the misery of the peasants. If he showed tact in dealing with them at first, by forbidding the bailiffs, for example, to seize cattle and ploughs, it was "in order that they might find themselves in a position to pay their taxes."

Although the results of Colbert's measures may have been disproportionate to his efforts, and certain of his regulations were perhaps frankly harmful, his work was the most lasting and the most original of that of any of Louis XIV's Ministers; and it would have been much more fruitful without the prodigality and warlike policy of the King.

The Army—Louis XIV needed a permanent and strong army. This was secured for him by Michel le Tellier and his son Louvois, who were Secretaries of State for War, the one from 1643-1666, the other from 1666-1691. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the army

did not belong to the King but to the superior officers, who bought their troops. It was not a permanent body, and hardly better recruited than a convict-prison. Equipment was in arrears, and anarchy and confusion reigned. Nothing now was changed of the essential defects, but their gravity was lessened by a close supervision. The peace footing of the army was raised to 150,000 men, and provincial militias were formed. The technical instruction of the troops was developed. Louvois' chief aim was to introduce methods of iron discipline ; flogging for the rank and file, cell confinement for the officers. He had to assist him Vauban, the clever military engineer who perfected the art of taking and defending fortresses. Louvois was a cruel and spiteful man ; but he was a clever courtier, and knew how to keep his power by flattering the passions of Louis XIV, whom he encouraged to methods of violence. Vauban, on the other hand, was humane, and sympathetic towards the sufferings of the people ; ¹ this is the reason that he was disgraced in 1707.

After Colbert, the slackening of economic activity and the decay were rapid. Expenses rose to 200 millions whilst receipts were only 70 millions. The expedients to which his successors were driven did not succeed in making up this annual deficit. Commerce also declined, owing to the departure of many good Protestant workmen ² and, above all, because of the wars.

Results of the Wars of Louis XIV—These did not cease throughout Louis XIV's reign. He sent an army against the Turks (1664), then began the War of Devolution against Spain, ended by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). He had hardly laid down arms when he took them up again (1672), this time against the Dutch, whose country he invaded. The Dutch, however, prepared for any measure that would save their country, flooded the

¹ See below, page 86.

² See below, page 87.

land by opening the dykes, and formed a vast coalition against France. They preserved their liberty in the Peace of Nymvegen (1678) by which Louis XIV received from Spain the Franche-Comté and some places in Flanders. From 1678-1688 the King of France adopted, as regarded the neighbouring countries, a policy of nibbling annexations and raids, with continual provocation, till all Europe united in a coalition against him in the first Grand Alliance. The opening of the war was signalized by an atrocious act of Louvois, the savage and methodical devastation of the Palatinate, horror at which roused the hatred of all Germany against France (1689). The war was only ended by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In 1700, the death of the King, Don Carlos II, raised the question of the Succession in Spain; Louis XIV, in company with the Duke of Savoy and the Emperor, coveted the Crown. A new European coalition was formed against Louis XIV, and the long War of the Spanish Succession, so disastrous for France, bathed Western Europe in blood from 1701-1714. The Treaties of Utrecht (1713), of Rastadt (1714), of Baden in Aargau, and of the Barrière (1715) restored peace. For thirteen years the lives and the money of the French people had been squandered for the vainglory of giving a King to Spain. All the countries round about France were aggrandized; she alone remained as before.

In fact, under Louis XIV, France was ruined for the smallest of results:—the acquisition of the Franche-Comté, Strasbourg, Cambrésis, and a portion of Flanders and of Hainault.

The horrors of war struck yet deeper into the country, by reason of religious differences.

Religious Intolerance—Under the absolute monarchy, the most precious of liberties, that of conscience, was refused to the King's subjects, whose duty was held to be to profess the same religion as he. Louis XIV even

entered into dispute with the Pope, to whose detriment he wished to extend his authority over the Clergy, in accordance with the theory of Gallic independence. He gave in, however, in 1693; but the quarrel with the Jansenists and the Protestants was longer.

The Jansenists—The Jansenists, named after Bishop Jansen, who first put forward their doctrine, were Catholics, acknowledging the Papal supremacy, but believing like Calvin in predestination. Some Jansenists, eminent for their virtues—amongst them, Pascal—settled near to Paris in the Abbey of Port Royal, where their doctrine was already introduced. The “Solitaries,” as they were called, humbled themselves to cultivate the soil, and in their “little schools” gave excellent instruction by which Racine, among others, profited. Pascal retorted in the name of the Jansenists, when they were condemned in 1653 by the Pope, by vigorously denouncing the hypocrisy of the Jesuits in his “Provincial Letters.” The “Solitaries” were obliged to leave Port Royal, but did not renounce their ideas. Persecution, directed by the Jesuits, grew fierce in 1702, and culminated in 1709 by the expulsion from Port Royal of the aged nuns, the last inhabitants of the Abbey. The Pope, by the Bull *Unigenitus*, condemned Jansenism once again (1713), and at the death of Louis XIV 2,000 Jansenists were in prison.

Protestants—Louis XIV, believing that a man who worshipped God in a different way from himself could not be a good subject, ceased to exercise tolerance towards Protestants, although they had acted loyally since the Peace of Alais. He was egged on by his confessor, the Jesuit Père La Chaise, and by the clergy, who regretted the “accursed” Edict of Nantes. At first the persecution was hypocritical and limited to teasing ordinances of all kinds, such as forbidding Protestants to bury their dead by day; to become apprentices in certain corporations,

to raise places of worship in towns which were the seat of a bishop, or to practise any of the liberal professions. A Fund for Conversions, which paid apostates highly, was instituted (1677) and they were also granted exemptions from taxes. Children of seven could leave their family and declare themselves Catholics. In spite of all these odious measures, the mass of Protestants remained firmly attached to their convictions.

Violence Committed by Royal Persecution—Marillac, a governor of Poitou, thereupon hit on a more efficacious means of conversion ; he billeted on the Protestants the dragoons, the least disciplined and the wildest soldiers in the army. These “booted missionaries” ransacked and burnt the houses, killed and generally behaved as in a conquered country. Louvois was soon subjecting all the Protestant provinces to the system of “dragonading.” The terror these brutes inspired was such that, merely at the news of their approach, whole towns and villages abjured their faith. Thus Nîmes was converted in three days. Louis XIV, they say, believed these conversions to be sincere. Imagining that he had no more Protestants in the kingdom, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, since it was thenceforth useless (Edict of Revocation, October, 1685). The pastors were expelled ; but the faithful were forbidden to leave the realm under pain of the galleys. Churches and schools were shut, and all children were to be baptized into the Catholic Church.

To show to what degree even the most lofty minds of the seventeenth century were subdued by the King, and how they had lost all independence, it suffices to say that men like Racine, La Fontaine, and La Bruyère welcomed this crime against conscience with enthusiasm. Mme. de Sévigné wrote : “It is the most beautiful and greatest thing that has ever been imagined and put into execution.” Only Vauban and Saint-Simon protested.

After the Revocation, many Protestants, who had only

abjured in the hope of a more tolerant period beginning, seeing their hopes ruined, retracted their conversion ; then Louis XIV could have taken the measure of his blindness and of the lies of those surrounding him ; but he ordered the continuance of the " utmost severity against those who would not profess his religion." This fanatical obstinacy was fanned by the injured pride of the despot. The dragonadings began again with redoubled savagery. Life was intolerable for the persecuted. In spite of strict supervision ; in spite of the application of the death penalty to emigrants, nearly five hundred thousand Huguenots went into foreign countries ; and these people who sacrificed all their possessions and risked even their lives to save their faith were a picked band of manual and intellectual workers.

Thus the Revocation brought about the exodus of trained and industrious Frenchmen, whose departure ruined several industries and who went to enrich the countries to which they fled,—Holland, England, Brandenburg. Moreover, in spite of all the persecutions, Protestantism survived in France, as witness the revolt of the Calvinist peasants of the Cevennes, the Camisards, who held up a whole army for two years (1703–1705). In fact, the chief result of the atrocities of the Revocation was to win over the nation to religious tolerance, and to lead Protestants and Catholics alike to contest the rights claimed by the King to control the opinions of his subjects. So monarchical authority received its first check and the unpardonable violence of the means of coercion employed by Louis XIV favoured the birth of a revolutionary spirit.

CHAPTER X

THE FRENCH PEOPLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

According to calculations made by Vauban, at the end of the seventeenth century the population of France was 19 millions ; of these 500,000 belonged to the ranks of the clergy or to the nobility and 18,500,000 were "commoners."

Power and Divisions of the Clergy—The clergy, intermediary between God and men, were the first Order in the State. Both by their power and by their privileges they were the only section which can be said really to constitute an Order, a body by themselves. From the sixteenth century, the clergy held Assemblies every five years, by means of which they governed themselves ; they voted there the "gratuitous gift," their only share in the public expenses. They collected tithes and feudal dues, retained special tribunals, or ecclesiastical courts, and were exempt from common-tax. They owned immense riches ; their revenues, made up of returns on the ecclesiastical property, and various rights which they exercised, amounted to about 400 million livres, a sum which to-day would be equal to from three to four milliards. Their spiritual authority was very great, for they kept all the civil registers of State, and directed both education and social relief. They were, however, weakened by their division into "Higher" and "Lower" Clergy.

The Higher Clergy, or clergy of the Court, comprised the rich beneficiaries, chosen by the King himself from among the cadets of noble families and the relations of his ministers. No commoner could expect a bishopric, unless he were a Bossuet. Prelates did not often live in their dioceses. Besides the bishoprics, which were worth from 20,000 to 200,000 livres, the Abbneys under canon law, that is to say, whose beneficiary was not obliged to be a member of the Order and to reside on the spot,—were much sought after by courtiers. The King thus made use of ecclesiastical wealth to distribute favours which cost him nothing. These commendatory Abbots were only concerned in drawing the revenue from the abbneys, and were parasites of the Houses whose Heads they should have been. This abuse, noticeable as early as the sixteenth century, only disappeared with the Revolution. Thus it came about that, in accordance with the wish of the King, almost all the high dignitaries among the clergy lived at Court, and Bishops who stayed in their own dioceses were considered to be in disgrace; and although their conduct was much less scandalous than in the following century, Prelates and Abbots of the Court, rich from their revenues, lived like men of the world, or to put it at its lowest, led an existence that was but little edifying.

The lower ranks of the clergy vegetated in country towns, and drudged in villages. They were recruited among the peasants, and were generally ignorant and rough-mannered, but respected. The titular rectors of rich cures left all the burden of them to curates, to whom they gave up a small portion of the tithe, a pittance of some 200–300 francs. It was from this often miserably poor section of the clergy that the “gratuitous gifts” were collected. Inequality among the religious orders (the regular clergy) was equally marked; the Abbots at Court allotted to themselves the greater part of the

revenues of the institutions, and entrusted the direction to a Prior. "In this consecrated hive, the hornets eat nearly all the honey." The monks lived as they could on what was left them. They were for the most part sincere and pious; but there were also many monks and nuns of noble family, unfitted for the monastic life, on whom their relations had imposed it in order to avoid having to spend money on them, and there were privileged houses of noble religious ladies or canonesses which were no more than luxurious boarding-schools for young girls who wished to marry. Several new religious orders were created at the close of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, to take over the relief works and education of the people then thought beneath the attention of the government; such were the Sisters of Charity established by St. Vincent de Paul, the Ursulines, the Oratorians, the Lazarists, the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The teaching of the monks, however, ill-taught themselves and not under supervision, often stopped short at the catechism.

The clergy is thus seen to have been entirely dependent on royalty, a fact which transformed the prelates into courtiers, or if they resided where their charge lay, into provincial officials. So it arose that the inequalities and abuses of the absolute Kingship were reproduced in the ecclesiastical world, which included privileged and sacrificed members, a Higher aristocratic clergy and a Lower plebeian clergy, the gulf between whom widened still further in the eighteenth century.

Decadence and Futility of the Nobility—The second Order, in the kingdom, the nobility, was increasingly decadent. The King, distrusting the nobles, had systematically taken the administration out of their hands, and deprived them of all political authority. Their ranks were invaded by new elements, false aspirants to nobility or newly-created nobles; but, above all, they

were discredited, and hated by the nation, on account of the privileges they had preserved (the wearing of a sword, special jurisdiction, exemptions from common-tax and the salt-tax); on account of the feudal rights they exercised over the peasants;¹ and for their idle life, to which, in order to conform to foolish prejudices, the nobles were condemned by birth, under pain of losing their nobility. In this strange society, honest work was considered a defect; they lived thanks to others' toil, but despised it. According to the saying of a preacher, this nobility, which "vegetates and lives only to cumber the earth," began to be regarded as useless and parasitical by the end of the reign of Louis XIV.

The nobility of the sword included the nobles at Court and the country nobles, or the greater and lesser nobles. The greater nobles, who, up to the reign of Louis XIV, had by their insubordination plunged the realm into bloodshed, left their domains for Court life from about 1660. At Court they led a life of parade and an "ante-chamber" existence and served to set off royalty, soliciting, often with shameless and sordid avidity, the pensions, governorships, domestic posts, and military ranks that the king dispensed to them in return for their presence about his person. The lesser nobles comprised the gentlemen too poor to appear at Court; these lived poorly enough on their estates, on dues exacted from the peasants. The chase, which ruined the crops, was their sole distraction. In spite of their poverty, they retained all their pride of rank, and from the point of view of the peasants, their implacable overlords were only "hobereaux," or birds of prey. Many families died out.

Taking advantage of the troubles of the Fronde, the nobles, especially in central France, had taken again to the ways of feudal brigands. They levied taxes arbi-

¹ See below, page 97.

trarily, imprisoned the peasants, whom they only released on obtaining a ransom, and even committed murders. Louis XIV, to put a stop to these misdeeds, sent councillors from Parliament to Clermont-Ferrand, where they held a special Court of Justice, the "Grand Days of Auvergne" (1665). Twelve thousand cases were examined, but most of the guilty parties escaped in time and were judged by default. The King also wished, under the circumstances, rather to frighten than to punish; and all the condemned, who, being of ancient lineage, professed contrition, were pardoned by him. For all that may be said, in France, under the old régime, inequality existed even in the matter of obedience to the King.

To sum up, the nobility of the sword had lost all political power, but kept their privileges. The satisfaction to their pride allowed them by the King was sufficient to console them for the state of strict submission in which they were kept; thus the King decreed that they should spend less time at the University than the commoners, and forbade people not of noble birth to challenge a gentleman to a duel under pain of hanging.

The Nobility of the Robe—The nobility of the robe which was recruited from the rich bourgeoisie, continued to grow in numbers, for to achieve it, it was only necessary to occupy a high position in the law courts, to be a professor in certain Universities, or to buy from the King patents of nobility or a noble's estate. The nobility of the sword looked down on these newly-made nobles, whose sons tried to become nobles of the sword by purchasing a commission in the army. Those recently privileged were just as scornful of the commoners as the ancient nobility.

The Third Estate—The Third Estate was the third Order in the kingdom, the non-privileged Order. It was divided into two clearly defined classes: one, the bour-

geois, a class of commoners who did not perform manual labour and sought connections with the nobility; and the other, the people, forming the bulk of the nation, the artisans and the peasants. There were 1,500,000 bourgeois, and 17 million manual workers.

The Bourgeois, the Third Privileged Order—The bourgeois concentrated in the towns comprised:—(i) The financiers or contractors, who speculated in the public debt, farmed the taxes or lent money on interest, were sure of amassing fortunes, all the larger when the affairs of the kingdom went amiss. At the end of Louis XIV's reign there appears in contemporary comedies the type of the great financier, unscrupulous, with the manners of a parvenu and a Duke for a son-in-law.

(ii) The second-class officials of the magistracy or of finance, who were very numerous, for functionaries swarmed even in the seventeenth century, and whoever had the means bought one of the multitudinous useless and absurd offices which royalty among other expedients put up for sale. The allurements of an idle and semi-noble life, the hope of seeing their children acquire the "nobility of the robe" by obtaining a superior post, caused 40,000 bourgeois between 1691 and 1709 to buy offices which were created by the King purely in order to raise money.

(iii) The rich merchants, manufacturers and masters, who in many of the corporations no longer worked themselves, but confined themselves to trading in their workmen's produce. Molière in "*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*" ridiculed their frantic aspirations towards attaining nobility.

Thus, although included in the Third Estate, the greater part of the bourgeois class may be said, from the seventeenth century, to have formed a third privileged Order, enjoying exemption from certain dues (the nominal holders of office did not pay the common-tax) and possessing certain prerogatives (only the bourgeois had a share

in the administration of the towns). The bourgeois looked down on the villeins,—artisans and peasants, and formed a step between them and the nobles, with whom they endeavoured to mix.

The Artisans ; Evolution of Organization of Labour—
The world of labour had only the semblance of the corporative and family organization of the Middle Ages. It certainly remained divided into masters, “companions” (or workmen) and apprentices ; but the familiar and approachable master had given place to a suspicious contractor, sometimes unknown, who no longer belonged to the same social class as the artisan, and who endeavoured indeed to prevent the latter from improving his position and competing with himself. Workmen who were not rich enough to buy the letters of mastership, and pay the expenses involved in producing a *chef-d’œuvre*¹ or who had not the chance of marrying the widow or daughter of a master, were condemned to a life of hardness, without hope of better things. They were only engaged for short periods, sometimes obliged to hire themselves out by the day, journeying from town to town, or to work at home in spite of the strict prohibition of the guilds. Always anxious about the morrow, they toiled from dawn till nightfall, for a fixed but negligible wage. The number of apprentices was stringently limited by the masters. Their condition was wretched, for they were very badly paid during their long apprenticeship, had to put up with the bullying of certain of the workmen, and often remained apprentices till of mature age.

It is understandable that the “companions” of every trade sought more and more to unite and to help each other to better their lot. The associations of workmen,

¹ An aspirant master-tailor had to make, at his own expense, twelve complicated and luxurious garments. In the corporation of drapers the *chef-d’œuvre* amounted to 3,240 livres.

begun at the close of the sixteenth century, multiplied and became regular syndicates with their coffer or "common box." They organized secret, almost religious brotherhoods, to which the ceremony of admission resembled baptism. They indulged in reprisals against the workshops where one of their members had been maltreated, and against non-affiliated workmen; and they declared strikes to impose their will on their "patrons"; thus four thousand draper companions ceased work near Rouen because the patrons had called in foreign workmen.

With economic expansion, capital appeared, and with it manufactures, the first great collective enterprises and the first factories. By these, the transformation of industry and the hostile separation of masters and workmen was hastened. The solidarity, however, of groups of workmen or of patrons did not go outside the narrow circle of each corporation. The cooks despised the keepers of eating houses; the tanners despised the leather curriers; the shoemakers looked down on the cobblers; in the opinion of a tailor, an old-clothes dealer was a low-class fellow; and there were endless lawsuits between the different trades about their prerogatives and the limits of their respective work. Thus, from the fourteenth century the tailors had carried on lawsuits against the old-clothes dealers, who did up old clothes to look like new, and the quarrel continued in the seventeenth century and up to the eve of the Revolution. This corporative pride, these continual disputes, to some extent diverted bad humours into different channels and lessened the gravity of the conflicts between patrons and workpeople. The routine of the Councils of the corporations or "jurandes"; their rather galling rules, which Colbert had increased; the innumerable tolls and customs peculiar to each industry; and the creation of monopolies, hindered all professional innovations and all private

initiative. French industry made little progress in the seventeenth century.

The Peasants, the Last of the Serfs—The peasants formed by themselves more than three-quarters of the population. As regards possession of the soil and private liberties, their situation continued slowly improving. Some had bought outright the soil they tilled; others had leased it by contract ("ferme," or perpetual rental). The worst off were the daily labourers, who, like the poor "companions," as we have seen, hired themselves out from day to day, and their livelihood was no more certain. Besides this, there were two million serfs, subject to mortmain, scattered over the land owned by the Church, who received no blame for this scandalous contradiction of Gospel principles. These serfs were known as "subject to mortmain," because the chief mark of their servitude was the "dead hand" which forbade them to alienate the land they cultivated to any one except a serf of the same overlord. They could not marry outside the circle of his serfs without his permission, and giving up to him a third of their possessions ("right of marriage between serfs belonging to a different lord"). These unhappy people, attached to the glebe and sold with it, had not even a surname of their own. In France as a whole, however, serfage tended to disappear; but the increase of independence seemed only granted to the peasants to allow of increase of the burdens imposed on them.

Crushing Burdens of Taxation—Besides the feudal and ecclesiastical dues which were survivals of the Middle Ages, the peasants, by taxes paid to the king, had to ensure to him the greater part of the funds which he required. In this way, the triumph of the monarch over the feudal system simply meant that the peasant was doubly exploited. The king, the priest and the lord left him between them a quarter of the products of his

labour with which to ensure his livelihood, that of his family, and to pay the remainder of his taxes.

The principal feudal rights exercised by the lords,—lay or clerical,—were: the right of enforced work, or “*corvée*”; the right over the harvest, or field-rent in kind (“*champart*”); direct taxes in money, such as quit-rent and the common-tax (“*taille*”); rights or “*banalités*” connected with the mill, and the seignorial bakehouse and wine-press, all of which the peasant was forced to use; the right to hunt, to feed their rabbits and pigeons on the peasants’ land without any compensation for damages (rights of the chase, the warren and the dove-cot). Besides this, the lords did not scruple to pile up vexations for the people by “increasing the seignorial rights twice or threefold.”¹

The Church collected the feudal dues when the peasant’s field was church land, and in any case took the tithe or the tenth part of the harvests, and the tax on the new productions of the soil.

Royal impositions capped the burden on the peasants. A direct tax, the common-tax (“*taille*”); two groups of indirect taxes, the salt-tax and aids. The “*taille*” was paid on the land and houses in the State-owned regions, and on the estimated fortune in the “*Election*” areas, where the peasant, given over to the arbitrary action of tax-collectors, did not make any effort to improve his methods of cultivation or his condition for fear this tax should be increased. Only the members of the Third Estate paid it. The king farmed out the indirect taxes; that is to say, he sold to contractors or “farmers” the right to levy them in his place. The “*gabelle*” was a tax on salt, the sale of which was monopolized by the contractors. Each family was forced to buy annually a certain quantity of salt and only to use that sold by the farmers.” The agents of the “*gabelle*,” or “*gabelous*,”

¹ Letter from Colbert to a Governor (1681).

had the right to make sure of this by forcing their way into a house at any hour of the day or night. The "aids" were taxes levied on drinks taken from one province to another. The gabelle and the aids were in theory paid by all subjects. The agents received far more from the taxpayers than they ever paid to the king. In spite of their rapid acquiring of wealth, they were pitiless, and the government left them entirely with a free hand. For small offences they haled the peasants before the tribunals, where any one who could not pay fees to the judge or bribes, inevitably lost his case. Most frequently he was imprisoned. Vauban described them as "harpies," and as "bloodsuckers of the State."

To collect the taxes, an army of collectors, bailiffs, agents, "gabelous," descended on the most remote hamlets, where their ceaseless prying and galling measures aggravated the grievance of the country people. Besides this, the peasants were continually interrupted in their work, and their materials requisitioned to construct or repair the roads used by the privileged classes, to lodge soldiers, or to transport war material: this was the royal "corvée."

New Taxes—The royal taxes had sufficed for expenses up to 1672; but the wars and the magnificent buildings erected by Louis XIV, and the enormous expenses of the Court, obliged Colbert's successors to seek other resources. After borrowing money, they instituted a new direct tax, the capitation (1695), proportional to social rank and from which no one was exempt. The Clergy, however, bought permanent exemption for a very small sum; the nobles and the magistrates, by indirect means, contrived only to pay a ridiculous portion; and inequality was so firmly rooted in France that all the burden of this equal tax fell again on the people. Exactly the same thing befell over the tax of one-tenth levied in 1710, which it was intended to levy on revenue of all kinds. The

brutal methods of investigation to fix the resources of each taxpayer, made these two taxes still more hateful to the peasants. In spite of them, also, the budget presented a yearly deficit of 60 to 80 million livres, and Louis XIV's last Finance Ministers, driven to procure money by more than doubtful means, believed bankruptcy inevitable.

Insurrections Due to Poverty—Thus, even in ordinary times, when there were neither revolts of the great, nor Frondes, nor dragonades, the French peasant was crushed by an enormous, impersonal and insensitive fiscal machine, which pressed upon him at every turn, in all his actions. Supporting almost alone all the costs of the State, discouraged by seeing them growing without hope of freeing himself, he was unable to perfect agricultural methods, which remained very primitive. In consequence, famines and insurrections, to which despair goaded him, followed one another throughout the seventeenth century, and became more frequent and more serious when the "Great" King had inaugurated his "great" policy.

Under Richelieu—Under the despotic ministry of Richelieu, the peasants took up arms, as at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV. In 1634, the "Croquants" of the South rose, to the number of ten thousand, to shake off the burden of taxation. They scoured the country, massacring the tax-collectors, but in spite of the sympathy of the townspeople, were obliged to surrender to the royal army sent against them, after losing one thousand two hundred of their men. The same year, the States-Assembly of Normandy, one of the most heavily-burdened provinces, had reported to the King the plight of that region: "Sire, we tremble with horror at the sight of the miseries of the poor peasantry; we have seen some in the few last years, committing suicide out of despair at the burden of charges they could not bear; others yoked to the plough like beasts of burden, tilling the soil,

eating grass. . . . Yet our taxes have not diminished but have even increased to the point of tearing from a man's back the garment covering his naked body." The King made promises which he did not keep. In 1639, the peasants of Normandy or "Go-bare-foots" as they were nicknamed, supported only by the common people, revolted to "prevent the collecting of all taxes established since the death of Henry IV," and set upon the tax collectors' agents and the contractors. The movement spread to the towns, particularly Caen and Rouen, where a clerk on the collectors' side was killed and the house of the receiver of the salt-tax pillaged. Richelieu sent four thousand soldiers against the insurgents. Those captured were broken on the wheel; the Parliament of Rouen, which had not repressed the revolt energetically enough, was suspended and the town's privileges cancelled.

Under Louis XIV—We have seen the wretched condition of the peasants during the Fronde. The wretchedness did not diminish when Louis XIV took the reins of power, even during those years when his supremacy in Europe was uncontested. There was not one year of his reign which did not see a revolt of the lower classes of the towns or the country.

In 1660, a famous doctor, Gui Patin, wrote that "the poor throughout the whole of France are dying from misery, oppression, poverty and despair." In 1662, the peasants of Touraine devoured grass, nettles and roots; women and children were found dead of hunger by the roadside, their mouths still full of grass or clutching in their hands disinterred bodies of dead animals. In that year there was a rebellion at Laval, and another, more serious, in the Boulonnais, where the peasants refused to pay a new tax which Louis XIV had arbitrarily decreed to prove to the people, to quote his own words, "that he had the power and the right to do it." Six thousand peasants took up arms; three thousand were taken

prisoner by the royal troops. Colbert feared that the country judges "would be too indulgent and compassionate to make an example of terror"; he therefore sent the governor of the province a sentence prepared in advance condemning the leaders to the wheel and hanging. As to the insurgents, four hundred of them were sent for life to row in the King's galley, fastened to the benches and under the gaoler's whip without any respite till set free by death.

The Venetian ambassador reported that, at that time, "Paris and the Court offered a golden prospect of delights whilst the interior of the provinces was a sink of poverty and misery."

In 1663, the governor of the province of Dauphiné wrote, "the peasants are grinding nut-shells with acorns and black corn or a little hay and rye to make bread." Again, in 1663, there was rebellion in the district of Clermont; in 1664, in the Landes, Béarn, and Poitou against the salt-tax; and at Bourges against the collectors of aids. That of the Landes was the most serious. Led by a gentleman, d'Andijos, who held the field till 1675, it did not end till the King bought over d'Andijos with a commission as Colonel, and sent the peasants to the scaffold or the galleys. In 1668, there was an insurrection against the salt-tax officials by the peasants of Rousillon and the local militias; in 1670, one in Vivarais where, after a severe winter and a stormy spring had ruined the crops so that famine was threatening, rumour spread of a tax on new-born infants; the inhabitants thereupon threatened to throw the tax-collectors into the water, and rose, singing:—

"In the towns and in the villages
See how the excesses of the plunderers
And how the abuses of their power
Have reduced us to despair.
Enough of hunger and of tears!
War, and death, peasants! To arms! . . ."

The placards they put up witness to their exasperation : “ Woe to the Marquis of Castries, who is a man without faith and without honour ! Woe to the nobles and the priests, who are our enemies ! Woe to the Bishop of Viviers, who is their leader ! ” A small army, under the command of the famous d’Artagnan, dispersed the rebel-bands, and pursued the peasants into the villages and massacred them ; this was followed up by a hundred condemnations to death and six hundred to the galleys and exile within the next three weeks (August, 1670). At the end of the month of August, the Venetian Ambassador wrote these lines, savouring of bitterness, to the Doge :—“ The most severe pains and penalties continue in Vivarais, to punish the rebels. They are subjected to the same taxes and vexations as in the past and have returned to their former obedience. The King rejoices exceedingly to see on all sides a wind propitious to his fortune, his power and his peace.” In 1675, Bordeaux revolted against the levying of new taxes ; but the town, terrified by the number of hangings, submitted again. In this year also, twenty-five thousand Breton peasants rose, and published a “ Peasants’ Code,” democratic in tendency. Soon, ten thousand soldiers from the savage army of the Rhine arrived in the province where “ they did nothing but slay and steal ; the other day they put a little child on the spit,” wrote Mme. de Sévigné, with the insensibility of her century. The trees were bowed down with the numbers of the poor wretches hanged. From 1674, the peasants of the frontier provinces took to escaping to foreign soil. In 1675, the Governor of Berri declared that “ the peasants here are more unhappy than the slaves of Turkey.” The Governor of Dauphiné wrote : “ The majority of the inhabitants have lived through the winter only on acorns and roots, and now they may be seen eating grass from the fields and the bark of trees.” In 1676, the English philosopher, Locke,

travelled in France; he noticed that "the peasant is ground down by the weight of taxes badly distributed," and he emphasized the decay of the towns. Of Brittany, in 1680, Mme. de Sévigné reported: "I seem to see nothing but people lacking bread, lying on straw, and weeping." Everywhere in France, the traveller would only have found such scenes of woe with slight variations, and this was in the year 1680,—the year when Louis XIV had just signed the Peace of Nymvègen and was at the very height of his power and his pride.

Aggravation of Hardships after 1680—From this moment to the end of the reign, individual witness on all sides, governors' reports, inquiries into the state of the country, reveal an aggravation of the plight of the people. According to Fénelon "the whole of France is only a great hospital, laid waste and without provisions"; and the same Fénelon, dared to write to the King:—"Your people are dying of hunger. The cultivation of land is almost abandoned; the towns and countryside are becoming depopulated. . . . Instead of extracting money from these poor folk, they should be given alms and nourishment." From 1695 to 1715 the population fell from twenty to sixteen millions. In 1707, Vauban estimated the number of beggars at two million, and put at ten million "those reduced to a minimum, very near to the mendicant state." The War of the Spanish Succession and the terrible winter of 1709 came to put the coping-stone on the people's sufferings. It was then that even at the King's table black bread was served, that the footmen begged at the railings of the palace and the women of Paris marched to Versailles demanding food. We quote the famous word-portrait of a peasant by La Bruyère, for it is not a writer's exaggeration but an arresting and exact representation of truth:—

"Certain wild animals are to be found scattered throughout the country, male and female, black, livid and burnt with the

sun, attached to the soil, which they dig and turn over with unconquerable obstinacy. They have what resembles an articulate voice, and, when they raise themselves on their feet, they exhibit a human face ; and, indeed, they are men. At night they retire into their dens, where they live on black bread, water and roots. They save other men the pain of sowing, tilling and reaping, and thereby they deserve not to lack the bread that they have sown."

The King's Inhumanity—Whatever those who wish to find excuses for his monstrous indifference may have said, Louis XIV always had the fullest knowledge of the frightful condition of the people ; but he did nothing to alleviate it, for he had only one anxiety as far as they were concerned—to procure for himself a progressively greater obedience. Perhaps, on his death-bed the King experienced a tardy feeling of responsibility and repentance, or was it that he knew, as throughout his life, just how to play up to the occasion ? On August 31st, 1715, seeing the end coming, he summoned to him his great-grandchild and successor, the future Louis XV, a child of five, who was the only survivor among his legitimate descendants, and gave him wise advice :—" My child, do not imitate my taste in buildings or for war. Seek to alleviate the sufferings of your people, that which I have been so unhappy as not to be able to accomplish." The next day he died, and at the news, says Saint-Simon, his people " thrilled with joy."

Its Consequences—The end of this iron rule provoked, among subjects who at the beginning were bowed even intellectually under the yoke, utter weariness of absolutism, and at the same time it led to the wakening of a spirit of criticism, a realization of the vices of the existing order. The best and most emancipated intellects, such as Vauban and Fénelon, are already foreshadowing reform, equality of taxation, the share of the nation in the government. Further, in a society divided, as we

have seen, into water-tight compartments, the middle-classes take a more and more important position. The eighteenth century, which nursed the Revolution, has truly begun.

CHAPTER XI

FRENCH CULTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The French Renaissance had been altogether eclipsed by the Italian Renaissance. In the seventeenth century France became the chief centre for intellectual Europe, thanks mainly to the greatness of its authors.

Literature—Literary history comprises three clearly differentiated periods. During the first, which extends from 1600–1660, various tendencies are shown. Mathurin Régnier (1573–1613), in his vigorous and crude “Satires,” carries on the tradition of the sixteenth century; but, generally speaking, the writers desire now to polish these rude manners and bring into fashion Italian insipidity and the pompousness of Spain. They achieve a refinement of wit and manners called “preciosity,” which by its disdain of everything simple, contributed largely to stifle the love of nature in the seventeenth century. At the same time, classic taste began to show itself by a reaction against foreign phrasing and words introduced into the language by the Pleiade poets; and by an effort towards purity and sobriety of style. Malherbe (1555–1628), who seeks the true sources of a national language amongst the people of Paris, is the leading author in this reform. This was followed by the “Dictionary” issued by the French Academy, which was founded by Richelieu in 1635. In 1636, Pierre Corneille produced “Le Cid.”

This was the first great French tragedy ; its characters are more than human and often inhuman, as in Corneille's other pieces : " Horace," " Cinna," and " Polyeucte." He is also the author of the first good classic comedy, " Le Menteur." Descartes (1596-1650) revived Philosophy by his " Discourse on Method " (1637), which for clearness of form and logically-planned arrangement is also of great literary importance. Pascal (1623-1662), one of the most indisputable geniuses of France, definitely crystallized classic prose in his " Provincial Letters " (1656-7) and in his " Thoughts." Descartes and Pascal were also celebrated for their learning.

Short Duration of the Classic Period—The second period, which lasts from 1660-1685, the true classic period, is characterized by the importance attached to the person of the King, whom all the writers glorify ; and by the disciplinary rigidity of the rules which, under royal influence, are introduced into literature. The " Century of Louis XIV " only lasted a quarter of a century. Its classic doctrine is a systematized taste for order, for good sense, for serene balance and symmetry ; but Boileau, who in his " Poetic Art " gives it the force of law, possesses little himself but its faults. Racine (1639-1699) in his tragedies of " Andromache " (1667), " Britannicus," " Iphigenia," and the best, " Phèdre " (1677), brings the heroes of Corneille down to earth ; by the correctness and elegance of his style, the ordered progress of his tales of passion, Racine is the most perfect representative of the classic school. After him come Mme. de la Fayette with her novel " The Princess of Cleves," Mme. de Sévigné with her " Letters," La Rochefoucauld with his " Maxims " of cynical disillusion, and Bossuet with the " Funeral Orations."

Molière (1622-1673) and La Fontaine (1621-1695) are the most independent and most original writers of this period, because they knew how to free themselves from

the narrow, stultifying atmosphere of the Court. The comedies of Molière, "Tartuffe" (1664), "The Misanthrope," "Don Juan," "The Miser," "The Femmes Savantes" (1672), in which a profound insight into human nature and a scathing bitterness are revealed, would be grand drama if it were not for their dénouements. La Fontaine, impatient of all constraint, a penetrating and satirical observer, used the medium of animal "Fables" to denounce social injustices; he was, moreover, the only great writer of the seventeenth century who loved nature, and by his spontaneity, and the variety of his gifts, was the only true poet of his period in the modern sense of the word.

The third period (1685-1715), before the ruin which despotism sowed in France, saw the birth of an opposition, which is reflected in literature at first furtively, then with increasing intensity. The classic outlook subsists, but is no longer represented by the more important writers. La Bruyère (1645-1695) gives a picture in his "Characters" of the manners of the end of the century, without sparing the great nobles, who are portrayed as hypocritical and debauched, or the insolent financiers; in every page are signs of revolt against a badly-organized society. Fénelon (1651-1715) criticizes the government of Louis XIV, under a discreet veil in "Telemachus," and openly in two courageous letters to the King. A discontented noble, the Duke of Saint-Simon, also addresses in his "Memoirs" an impassioned accusation against the King, but his demands are in the direction of an aristocratic reform. The comedies of Dancourt, and even more those of Lesage, make lively attacks on the foibles of the time. Fontenelle exhibits a spirit of scepticism and rebellion against authority and tradition in his "Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds"; he is also one of the first to popularize science, and in its name indited an attack on miracles. Economists like Vauban (in his project for

the Royal Tithe), and Boisguillebert, denounce the evil consequences of Louis XIV's ambition. Finally, in 1713, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre published the first part of his "Project for Perpetual Peace." Thus a breach is made in the stronghold of the principle of authority ; questions which no one had dared to touch upon are brought into the field of discussion. The critical spirit, destructive and constructive at one and the same time, comes to life. This epoch of transition prepares for the " philosophers."

The Sciences—At the beginning of the century French Science could boast two representatives of genius. Descartes and Pascal, like all the learned men of their age, were not specialists, but cultivated various branches. Thus Descartes was a great philosopher who taught in his " Discourse on Method " that men should never conceive or give assent to mere affirmations, but only believe what is evident or demonstrated ; he was also a great mathematician who conceived the idea of applying algebra to geometry. His influence on the thinkers of all lands was great. Pascal made considerable progress in physics by the invention of the hydraulic machine, and by making accurate the measuring of atmospheric pressure (barometer), and he furthered the advance of mathematics by discovering the calculus of probabilities and the first calculating machine. Lesser lights who must be mentioned were the Cartesian philosopher, Malebranche, the mathematician, Fermat, and the physicists, Mariotte and Denis Papin. The " Journal des Savants " was founded in 1665, the Academy of Sciences in 1666.

The Arts—The fine arts were far behind Letters in fame. The Italian-antique influence, already to the fore in the sixteenth century, now holds the field ; realistic and sincere art is only an occasional accident.

In architecture, the pompous and decorative Italian style is adopted by Salomon de Brossé in building the

palace of the Luxembourg (erected between 1615 and 1621), to-day the seat of the Senate ; and the same is used by Lemercier for the Louvre and the Sorbonne Chapel. The Louvre, which was under construction throughout Louis XIII's reign, was completed from 1666-1670 by Claude Perrault, who designed the imposing and severe colonnade. The chief monument of the period, however, is the Palais of Versailles, built from 1664-1695 by Le Vau and J. H. Mansart ; being planned on an unhealthy site, it cost the lives of thousands of workmen from marsh-fever, and in money about 700 million francs ; and it employed more than 30,000 men over a period of several years. In the chief building and its annexes a Court of 10,000 persons can be accommodated. This sumptuous dwelling, a model of the style of Louis XIV, was surrounded by the gardener Le Nôtre with an immense park, symmetrical in pattern, full of fountains and statuary.

In painting, during the first half of the century, there were still some realists,—the portrait-painter, Philip de Champaigne, the engraver, Callot, who depicted episodes in the life of old soldiers, and the brothers Le Nain. Three artists bearing this name lived at Laon between 1593 and 1677 and painted types and popular scenes ; this was audacious at a time when only what was " noble " was judged worthy of study. Their gloomy realism has left us some of the best documents revealing the people's life of privation in the seventeenth century. At the same time, Simon Vouet, Le Sueur, and, greater still, Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) and Claude Gelée, called Lorrain (1600-1682)—who both lived at Rome and are amongst the greatest of French painters—drank in inspiration from the ancients and from contemporary Italian artists.

Under Louis XIV, painting had an official representative, Le Brun, a prolific painter of battles, theatrical and mediocre. Le Brun was also a sort of Minister who

dictated even to the best artists of all branches, painters, sculptors, tapestry-workers and cabinet-makers. He made them work on his designs in the "noble and grand" style for which the King had a preference. Thus Van der Meulen and Parrocel painted battle-scenes for him; the Gobelin tapestries, the sumptuous and elaborate furniture of Boulle were executed after his designs; it was he who directed all the decoration of the Palace of Versailles. Mignard alone, especially celebrated as a portrait-painter, refused to bow to his dictatorship.

In sculpture, Girardon, whose best work was the tomb of Richelieu, and Coysevox, who made busts of nearly all the famous men of his day, both submitted to Le Brun's direction. Pierre Puget, who was inspired by Michael Angelo, remained independent. His talent, much more powerful than that of his predecessors, is seen in the colossal groups at the Louvre, "Milo of Crotona devoured by a lion" and "Perseus delivering Andromeda."

In music, Lulli introduced Italian taste at Court, where he was made conductor of all the fêtes.

The Academy of Painting and Sculpture was founded in 1648 at the request of the royal artists, who did not wish to be included in the same corporation as the "daubers, and the marble-workers and polishers." This is significant of their scornful attitude to the craftsmen, whose labour, in conjunction with theirs, had produced so many great works in the Middle Ages; but the corporation of the Master Painters, or Academy of Saint Luke, continued to exist.

Influence of the King on Intellectual Movements—The seventeenth century has been seen to have been marked in France by the variety of works produced and the existence of several men of genius, especially in Literature. It is, however, a mistake to give the name of "The Great Century" to this period, whose social characteristics were inhumanity and selfishness, and which in spite of

the brilliance of its intellectual movements cannot deserve this name. History has undoubtedly greater epochs. We must now consider if it can justly be named "the Century of Louis XIV" as those call it who at the same time call it "the Great Century." They wish to prove that the century of Louis XIV, the culmination of absolutism, was at the same time the culmination of French thought.

Up to 1660, the King did not attempt to direct matters in the domain of the intellect, and his influence was negligible, at least before Richelieu. The authors, learned men and artists, who could not make a livelihood, lived, as in the sixteenth century, on the liberality of the rich, and dependent upon them. With Richelieu appear the first pensions granted to literary men. At first, the French Academy was not the critic "cut-to-order" which it became under Louis XIV. The daring might still admire "*Le Cid*," against the desire of the all-powerful Minister, and this period of liberty continues through a large part of the seventeenth century. This liberty, combined with the diversities of taste among the patrons, explains the variety of works produced during this time. It was then that France possessed the greatest painters and the greatest scholars of the century. It was during these sixty years alone that, to quote Macaulay, "France gave laws to the whole world." It is well, in order to destroy a widespread prejudice, to remark that the richest portion of the seventeenth century was that before the King had as yet begun to manufacture its way of thinking.

Monarchical Discipline : Its Exactingness—From 1660–1695, the King dominates the realm of ideas, is its centre, and imposes on it a strict discipline, similar to that introduced by Colbert into commerce and the corporations ; and it was Colbert himself who, having bought in 1664 the office of Superintendent of Buildings, became

an authority on ideas as well. He kept a "list of pensions," on which, in accordance with the advice of a ridiculous poet, Chapelain, the names of all French or foreign intellectuals held worthy of this lucrative honour were inscribed. The French Academy, the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and the new Academies of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres (1663) and of the Sciences (1666) took up, in exchange for their creation or reorganization, the mission of glorifying the King and immortalizing the events of his reign. Colbert regarded them as workshops of glorification and regulated them strictly in consequence.

From the point of view of the condition of the artists, the single, royal protection marked some progress on the manifold patrons of preceding times. Aristocratic society, however, remained full of prejudices towards and of scorn for intellectuals; and the King did not dare to combat this tendency directly; it is only a legend that he made Molière eat at his table before the courtiers.

Servile Position of Writers and Artists—Nor had his protection the fruitful results which some would fain perceive. The genius of certain great writers cannot have been born of the liberality of Louis XIV; the genius of Molière, La Fontaine, La Rochefoucauld, and Mme. de Sévigné was already definitely formed before these writers came under his personal direction. It would have been necessary, in order that the monopoly of the literary and artistic control might have happy results, that its possessor should have infallible taste, and far-reaching intelligence; but Louis XIV was far from being always foreseeing, and on his pension-lists men of real worth are swamped among mediocrities; his favours were capricious and let themselves be influenced by success; so Corneille, who was little of a courtier, was abandoned in his old age. More significant, the royal aid was exacting and interested; in return for it, the

artist must work for the King, in the taste of the King, and cater for his glory and the exaltation of his person and his actions. Thus, in accepting a pension from him, the writers, the artists and the scholars lost much of their dignity and their independence. They lived at his Court in an honourable servitude, isolated in a special and protected world, apart from humanity. Subjected by him to a severe discipline, having to refrain from free thought in order to preserve the royal benefits, their powers drooped in this atmosphere of restraint.

Flattery of the King permeated all the domains of art and of science ; the grossest, the most impossible flattery was emitted by the greatest writers, and received as his due by the King. Molière, the King's valet, in order to assure a reception for the audacity of "*Tartuffe*," was obliged to close the play with the most exaggerated praises of Louis XIV. This was not the only constraint that the King's tyranny imposed on Molière, if we can judge from the courageous sallies scattered throughout his comedies, the bitterness which was the foundation of his life and work, and the exemplary beauty of his death.¹ In spite of the greatness of his masterpieces, in spite of the relative liberty of mind which he managed to preserve, it is safe to assert that his free and humane genius was repressed and unable to manifest itself completely because of monarchic discipline ; and Molière is only one example.

Intellects were drilled both in the Arts and in Science for the glorification of absolutism and the satisfaction of the royal tastes. This fact explains the fashion of the times for mythological and antique subjects most suitable for the introduction of flattering allusions, which gave birth to so many monotonous and lifeless works.

¹ He died one evening when, although seriously ill, he had, in order not to deprive his comedians of their salaries, just finished playing "*le Malade Imaginaire*."

Le Brun was the great pontiff-despot, who directed "all the arts to work for him." From the portraits they left behind them one can see that certain painters of the period, such as Mignard, might have done better if they had not obeyed academic orders with such docility. Louis XIV's taste was naturally good, but he chose second-rate servants, like Chapelain and Le Brun. A single form of art, that which the master tolerated, was allowed to express itself for thirty-five years, but all others were sacrificed to it, as was also the French genius, of which variety has always been an essential feature.

Effects of this Régime—In short, it must not be forgotten that Louis XIV made France the country where thought was less free than anywhere else. Descartes died (1650) before he had suffered from the narrow-mindedness of the King; but the Cartesian philosophy was the philosophy of doubt and investigation, and of freedom from authority; and the King, aided by the Church, declared war on it in 1663; Descartes' works were placed on the index and instruction in them was forbidden. Louis XIV forbade the pronouncing of any eulogy of Descartes at the obsequies attending the bringing back of his body to France (1667). Religious sectarianism proceeded to make the yoke yet heavier. The famous Leibnitz, a Protestant, might not belong to the Academy of Sciences. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the intellectuals among the Protestants, Frenchmen like Papin¹ or foreigners like Huyghens were obliged to flee from France. Many great men were born in Prussia and England, of French parents. The intolerance of Louis

¹ Papin was at the time working on a piston, the action of which depended on gunpowder. He commented thus on his researches: "It is no doubt something great and generous to wish to make useful to men, gunpowder, which has hitherto only been employed to destroy them." Papin died in poverty in Germany.

XIV was the cause of more damage to the intellectual life of France, than his magnificence was a source of benefit.

In studying the pension-lists one sees how small were the sums allotted to promote intellectual development as compared with the enormous amounts spent in wars or bounties distributed to courtiers. Corneille received less than a "Captain of the Greyhounds of the Chamber." An infinitesimal part of the manna scattered broadcast for sanguinary or frivolous ends found its way by luck into the world of thinkers ; such is Louis XIV's protection of the arts and literature seen in its true proportions. But taken as it stands, the rule imposed by the King can be judged by its results ; throughout the closing years of the reign not a single first-class classic genius appears ; the glory of this third period belongs to the independents, to the other side. With the passing of the great men, whose talents the King had not sustained, but who had sustained his glory, their place remained empty. Louis XIV had been able to pluck the fruits of classic thought when they fell ripe to his hand ; but he hindered their renewal by oppressing men's minds.

CHAPTER XII

THE DECAY OF ABSOLUTISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Regency and Law—By the will of Louis XIV, an illegitimate son of the late King, the Duke of Maine, was named regent during the minority of Louis XV. The will was ignored by Parliament (2 September, 1715), which handed over the Regency to Philip of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV. He, in exchange, gave back to Parliament the right to make remonstrances. The Regent was of active intelligence, but was debauched and incapable of continuous effort. The years during which he was nominally governor of France have remained sadly famous for immorality, in which he set the example (1715–1723). The devout hypocrites who had surrounded Louis XIV, grown old, sank into loud-tongued scepticism and vice. A reaction also occurred against the institutions of the preceding reign. The five Ministers were replaced by Councils on which some great nobles and some “nobles of the robe” took their seats. This system of replacing the minister of each department by a board had been extolled by Fénélon and Saint-Simon; the first saw in it a means of preventing the excesses of despotism, the second, a way of restoring the higher nobility to its place in the government; but the Councils were encumbered by incapable people, paralysed by jealousies between the nobles of the Robe and of the Sword, and by the opposition of those

whose ambitions were thwarted. They only served to hinder the despatch of business, and in spite of the "Discourse" on this synod-system by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, who defended the principle on which they were based, they disappeared in 1718.

The Council of Finances had had recourse to various expedients to ward off the gravity of the financial situation left by Louis XIV,—three and a half milliards of livres debt, with one million in the treasury. In view of the deficit, the Regent accepted the proposals of a Scotsman, Law, who promised him speedily to restore the finances, and even to restore the prosperity of France by his system of credits. The first idea of the system is to be found in "Considerations on Metallic Currency and Commerce" which Law had presented to the Scottish Parliament in 1700: it is money which makes the wealth of a country by permitting it to trade. With a limited metallic reserve and confidence, or credit, a Bank can issue an unlimited number of notes which will become money recognized by all, and with which the State's debt will be wiped out, and the success of great commercial enterprises assured. In 1716, Law founded a private Bank, which succeeded and became a royal Bank (1718), and this was followed by the founding of Companies of Colonial Trade, the West Indies Company (1717) and the East India Company (1719). Law advertised his system ably, and dangled such considerable profits before the eyes of those interested, that all wished to have shares in the Companies. The shares went up to forty times their nominal value and the excitement over sale of stock became immense. The fall began when the public saw some of the biggest speculators, such as the Duke of Bourbon and the Prince de Conti, prudently selling their shares and securing between them 70 millions of gold in truckloads. In spite of all steps taken by Law, the discredit of paper money increased; shareholders swarmed in front of the Bank to change their notes into

specie (June-July, 1720), and Law was reduced to bankruptcy and flight (December, 1720). Law at least did not enrich himself; he had lost through his system all his personal fortune, and he died in penury at Venice.

Law's system had for its objects the diminution of the State debt and the revived activity of trade and industry; but the greedy speculation, the upheaval in fortunes, the sight of easily-acquired riches, all the unseemly crisis that arose, had a demoralizing effect on humble workers.

Bourbon and Fleury—Even after Louis XV attained his majority (1723), the Duke of Orleans kept his power, though in reality the Duke's tutor, Dubois, governed. The Regent died of his debauches in December, 1723, and the unintelligent and brutal Duke de Bourbon became Prime Minister (1723-6). His mistress, Mme. de Prie, who had complete power over him, wished for a queen who should owe her crown to the Duke, and to this end married Louis XV to Marie Leczinska, daughter of a dethroned King of Poland. The Duke de Bourbon was supplanted by the King's tutor, Fleury, an old man of seventy-three years, wily, economical, and prudent. He got the finances into some sort of order; in 1738, for the first time since 1672 and the last before Napoleon, the receipts equalled the expenses. Fleury stayed in power for seventeen years, till his death (1743), for he was one of the very few people for whom Louis XV had a real affection.

Louis XV, a Degenerate King—Up till 1743, Louis XV, in the midst of the ruins and scandals of this time, was the hope of the people still attached to royalty. He had been a very attractive child, "the handsomest stripling in the kingdom." He was more intelligent than Louis XIV and had a good deal of natural sagacity. He showed bravery at Fontenoy (1745); but he had had a deplorable education, in fact, scarcely any teaching at all. Mme. de Ventadour, his governess, the old Marshal de Villeroy, his governor, and the plausible Abbé Fleury, his tutor, in

order to gain his favours, taught him to consider himself a being apart, above all human law, and flattered and developed his evil instincts, his egoism and idleness. He was spiteful by nature, and as a child he took delight in strangling birds ; at twelve years old he killed his tame deer, which was licking his hand ; all his life he was hard, sarcastic, indolent, and spoiled. At once timid and yet as vain as his predecessor, he was a degenerate, disturbing and abnormal, who combined perversion of mind and of the senses. He was haunted by morbid ideas of death and the fear of hell, and he took pleasure in asking the aged where they would be buried ; he read with a sort of delight the worst reports of the police courts and the letters opened by the " Black Cabinet." ¹ From 1750, his official mistresses did not suffice him, and he indulged in unofficial mistresses also ; a complete service was organized for the Royal amours.

In spite of his vices, Louis XV was very devout and never passed a day without going to mass. If we lay stress on his vicious propensities, it is because the man so afflicted was the King, that is to say, the absolute master of France for sixty years (1715-74) and because they had an influence repeatedly, in ways more or less direct, on the destinies of his subjects.

In imitation of his great-grandfather, and from fear of any apparent falling away, Louis XV kept up the Court life, and under him etiquette became yet more enslaving. His Civil and Military Households were added to and comprised fifteen thousand persons. The expenses of the Court quadrupled. In the midst of this unheard-of luxury, of these incessant fêtes, at which the State revenues were squandered, for several years in advance, and even the private fortunes of this mob of sycophants were scattered, the King was further removed than ever from his people. He was, moreover, bored by the life of the

¹ See above, page 81.

Court, as by everything else, and figured there without conviction ; the courtiers no longer flattered except from necessity. Versailles, too cold, was abandoned as much as possible for the more intimate "little palaces" of Marly, Trianon, Bellevue, and Choisy, fitted up for Mme. de Pompadour ; and Louveciennes for Mme. du Barry. The opinion¹ of the Court was no longer law as in the seventeenth century.

The Importance of the King's Mistresses—The Queen, the royal family, and the princes of the blood had little influence. All this passed over to the mistresses, who succeeded one another from 1733 to 1774. Of the five sisters de Nesle, who followed one another or shared at the same time the King's favour, the last, Mme. de la Tournelle, whom Louis XV made Duchess of Châteauroux, was the first who tried politics ; and she attempted to draw the King out of his apathy. She died in December, 1744, and was succeeded by a bourgeoisie of twenty-four years of age, Jeanne Poisson, the wife of the sub-contractor of revenue, Le Normant d'Étioles. Eaten up by ambition, she determined to conquer Louis XV ; she succeeded in March, 1745, thanks to the support of her friends in the high finance, in particular the brothers Pâris, whom she made all-powerful. Created Marchioness de Pompadour, she was in September officially presented at Versailles, where the Queen welcomed her with a good grace. From 1745-1764, "Her Majesty Cotillon III," as Frederick II of Prussia called her, ruled France far more than the King. The latter heaped on her, from the State coffers, all that she desired. She had her castles of Crécy, La Celle, and Bellevue. Her political power was enormous.

After Mme. de Pompadour, who died in 1764, it was the turn of a milliner turned courtesan, Jeanne Bécu. The master of Louis XV's amusements, Jean du Barry, married her to his brother to get her presented at Court. Apart from her beauty, she won favour with the King by her

sprightliness mingled with a vein of stupidity : which did not prevent her from meddling with politics. The Countess du Barry received three hundred thousand livres a month for her personal expenses ; she remained in favour to the death of Louis XV.

The people detested the mistresses, with their insolent luxury, their greed, and the mischievous political influence which was rightly attributed to them. In 1744 the Duchess de Châteauroux at Metz, and in 1750 Pompadour in Paris, were hooted and threatened.

Disorganization of the Government—Louis XV, as well as being a bad man, was also an execrable King, for he was incurably idle and indifferent to the public weal. In 1726 and in 1744 he showed a desire to govern by himself, like his great-grandfather ; but the business soon wearied him. He yawned and dozed in the Council, and his Ministers could see him for one half-hour only each week. Yet this whimsical monarch had organized for his sole use “ the King’s Secret,” a service of secret agents, scattered about France, in the armies, and in all the Courts of Europe, who hindered the political action of the official envoys. Louis XV thus knew the intrigues, the faults, and the treachery of his Ministers and his generals ; but he did not worry about them, having nothing to fear for himself : “ Things as they are,” he said, “ will last as long as I shall.”

All power belonged to the mistresses, and so to the Ministers, who as often as not were their creatures. Except for some men of worth—Machault d’Amouville, Chauvelin, the d’Argensons, Choiseul,—these Ministers, being either incapable or infected by the indolence of the King, entirely neglected their offices. Having intrigued themselves into power, they remained there under the thumb of some Court party, and were eliminated for reasons as discreditable as those which had brought them there. Amelot de Chaillou, and the Duke d’Aiguillon,

Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, were entirely ignorant of the map of Europe ; but the ineffectiveness of one pleased the agéd Fleury, who was clinging to power, and the other was in the favour of Mme. du Barry.

Once the intrigues resulted in a happy choice : Choiseul became Minister of Foreign Affairs (1758-1770), thanks to Mme. de Pompadour, whose goodwill he owed to sacrificing one of his own relatives, for whom the King had taken a fancy. Mme. du Barry caused his downfall. In form, the administration remained the same as under Louis XIV : absolute monarchy, Secretaries of State, Governors, councils as of old ; but all the ancient machine was creaking, and forces suppressed in the seventeenth century, Parliaments, Provincial States Assemblies, the Jansenists, all raised their head under Louis XV.

Jansenists versus Jesuits—Under the Regency religious persecution had been abandoned. It was only in 1723, in order to obtain from the Pope a Cardinal's hat, that Dubois turned again to attack the Jansenists, who were preparing to form an opposition party. Conflict grew heated about the condemnation of Soanen, Jansenist Bishop of Senez (1727), and about the miracles claimed to have been performed on the tomb of the Jansenist deacon, Pâris (1732). Strife then became violent between the Jansenist Parliament of Paris, supported by public opinion, and the Jesuits, who depended for assistance on the King, Government had ordered Parliament to accept the Bull *Unigenitus* ; in 1749 Parliament wished to force the priests to administer the sacraments to all the dying, including those who did not acknowledge the Bull, and it sent Parliamentary officers to summon them to give the communion to dying Jansenists. The quarrel lasted till 1756, the King taking severe measures, now against the Jansenists, now against the Ultramontanes, who were led by the Archbishop of Paris.

It was appeased by the intervention and moderation of

the Pope (October, 1756) and by a "Lit de Justice" where Parliament had to register the Bull (December, 1756). The Parliament soon avenged itself on the Jesuits, against whom all their adversaries made common cause, after the bankruptcy in the Antilles of Father la Valette, a member of the Society of Jesus. Parliament judged that the Society must pay the creditors. Then it took advantage of the occasion to declare the Society contrary by its statutes to the laws of the realm, ordered its dispersion and forbade its members to teach. The proceeding of the Parliament of Paris was closely followed by the provincial Parliaments, with rare exceptions.

In February, 1763, the King, under Choiseul's influence, decided to approve the suppression of the Jesuits. The Jansenists did not realize that they had worked for the cause of the Philosophers, professed opponents of all religion. But the Philosophers and the Parliamentary party found themselves at loggerheads over freedom of conscience, for the Jansenists were as intolerant as the Jesuits.

Religious Intolerance—The Protestants, although since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes they had officially ceased to exist, had suffered fresh persecutions by the Edicts of 1724 and 1730, following on which three thousand arrests took place. The Edict of 1724 specified that if a sick Protestant refused the sacraments, the simple deposition of the priest would suffice to put the "relapsed" person, if he recovered, outside the protection of the law. The Parliaments kept close watch over the application of the Edicts. From 1744-1751 there were fourteen hundred condemnations of Protestants. In 1762, Pastor La Rochette was beheaded by a sentence of the Parliament of Toulouse for having preached in the mountains. The Protestants Calas and Sirven were accused without proof of having killed, one a son, the other a daughter, because these wished to turn Catholic. Voltaire proved Calas, who had been executed, to be innocent (1765), and thanks

to him Sirven was acquitted (1767). About this time also a young noble of sixteen years of age, the Chevalier de la Barre, was beheaded at Abbeville, after having his tongue cut out, on suspicion of having damaged a crucifix ; in reality the Parliament saw in him an opportunity to condemn a reader of Voltaire, and the "Philosophic Dictionary" was burnt at the same time and on the same pyre as the body of de la Barre. On each occasion, the Philosophers defended the ideas of humanity and tolerance, and it was no longer possible, as in the seventeenth century, to commit these fanatical crimes amid the silence of the multitude.

Opposition of the Parliaments—It was, therefore, much more to the result of its resistance to the King than to its religious sectarianism that Parliament owed its popularity. The right to make remonstrances, which the Regent had given back to it, and the refusal to register the Edicts gave it some control over the Government. In 1718, when Law promulgated his System ; and in 1732 and 1753 with regard to the Bull Unigenitus, its opposition was particularly violent, and the vacillating policy of the Government, now arrogant and now timid, emboldened it. It made a show of defending the political rights of the nation against the ill-informed King ; spoke of "Laws superior to the King" and of "fundamental principles of the realm" which it must preserve ; it went so far as to call strikes, and between 1750 and 1770 five times, at Rouen, Rennes and Paris, prevented justice from taking its course.

In 1764, the rivalry between the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor "ad interim" of Brittany, and the Attorney-General to the Parliament at Rennes, La Chalotais, provoked a serious conflict between the King and the Parliament. Choiseul used tact in dealing with the magistrates, but the Triumvirate which succeeded him (1770), composed of the Duke d'Aiguillon, the Abbé Terray and the Chan-

cellor Maupeou, suppressed the Parliaments, which were replaced by Superior Councils. This reform, carried out by Maupeou, had much to be said for it ; but the " Maupeou Parliaments " were very unpopular and the pamphlets of Beaumarchais contributed to discredit them by ridicule. The Parliament party had made a number of their followers believe that they were entitled to speak in the name of the nation ; when, as a fact, having bought their seats, they were no more than " officers " of the King, charged solely with their only business. Thus all this agitation was futile ; for what mattered it to the French people that absolutism should triumph momentarily over these bourgeois lords of the robe ?

Waste and Deficit—During this sequence of political and religious conflicts, extravagance, which was never more unbridled than in the eighteenth century, completed the chaos of public finance ; favourites,—Mme. de Pompadour cost 36 million livres in nineteen years, Mme. du Barry 18 million in three ; pensions to courtiers,—the Duke de Chartres received 900,000 livres per year, the Prince de Condé, 500,000 ; fêtes,—for a piece of decoration at Mme. de Pompadour's, in porcelain flowers, 200,000 livres ; for fireworks in 1751, 2 million ; buildings,—for châteaux, during half the reign, 350 million ; thus the money fled away. In 1751, the Marquis of Argenson wrote this terrible but true sentence :—" The Court is the tomb of the nation." And besides all this, there were perpetual wars. In consequence, there was a constant deficit. The soldiers, even the servants of the King, were not paid. At Versailles in 1753, the products of the taxes of 1755 were consumed in advance. Orry had been an honest but hidebound Controller-General of Finances (1730-1745). Machault d'Arnouville, who was controller from 1745-1754, tried to improve matters by the levy of a twentieth part on all incomes. The Philosophers in their writings denied that any human law could exempt

the Clergy from contributing to the State expenses ; but Machault was defeated by the opposition of the privileged classes, clerics and nobles, whom Louis XV did not dare to resist. In January, 1757, the crazy valet Damiens attacked Louis XV with the point of a knife " to recall him to his duties." In the confusion which followed the outrage, Machault tried to get Mme. de Pompadour sent away, and she was not long in avenging herself. On February 1st, 1757, at her entreaty, Louis XV, now recovered, disgraced Machault, though he knew the value of his intelligent and upright minister :—" They have persisted so," he wrote the same day, " that they have forced me to send away Machault, the man after my own heart ; I shall never console myself." Mme. de Pompadour, however, consoled him quickly.

In 1759 the deficit reached 218 million livres, in spite of increased taxation. The Controllers-General succeeded one another rapidly, and struggled with the impossible situation ; for to remove the causes of disorder, and of the depleted finances, an entire remodelling of society would have been necessary. Abbé Terray, disreputable in morals, but energetic and competent, was charged with the financial administration in 1770. Indifferent to public hatred, he procured money for the King by brutal and dishonest means. He conducted a series of partial bankruptcies, and extorted the funds deposited by individuals in the State coffers. In 1773 the disorganization of trade, the misery and the agitation in town and country were such that a revolution seemed imminent.

Thus the death of Louis XV (10 March, 1774) was welcomed as a relief by the people. In 1744, when the King was ill, six thousand masses had been celebrated in Paris ; in 1774 there were three. As the funeral hearse, —which, accompanied by some guards and lackeys, bore the body of Louis XV to St. Denis,—drove through Paris, cries were heard in the concourse, recalling what had been

the two chief ends of life for the defunct—"Taïaut ! Taïaut !" (the hunting-call to the dogs) : and an even clearer hint :—"Pleasure,—Ladies' pleasure !"

The Army—Under Louis XV, France no longer kept, as in the previous century, the first place in military power. She had some ministers who attempted to reform the abuses in the army and navy, but could not check those arising from social conditions. Count d'Argenson, Secretary of State for War from 1743-1757, organized the corps of royal grenadiers and standardized the arms of the infantry and the artillery ; but he succeeded no better than his predecessors in preventing Court intrigues from giving Commands to incapable people, whose whole career had been frittered away in the ante-chambers of Versailles. On the other hand, he yielded to the prejudices of the aristocracy, in exacting from pupils at the Military School four degrees (generations) of nobility. Choiseul, Minister from 1761-1770, abolished "milk-sop colonels," as they were called, by the decision that a regiment could not be bought before a man had served in the army for seven years. His collaborator, Gribeauval, undertook to reform the artillery and the engineers, in which he succeeded under the Ministry of Saint-Germain (1775-1777). Saint-Germain proved an intelligent and bold reformer. A protector of the lesser nobility, he founded in the provinces twelve officers' colleges where poor gentlemen were admitted ; cadets had to share the life of the men before receiving their epaulettes. Saint-Germain condemned the purchasing of rank or promotion, but could not attack it openly. He improved the catering for the troops, and the hospital service. He reduced the numbers of the King's household, which had become a sort of parade-corps, and thus drew on himself the hatred of the Court nobles, who caused his downfall. The army was kept up by recruiting-sergeants who sought out men from the worst quarters. Saint-Germain would have liked all

citizens to be obliged to serve equally ; “ but,” he wrote, “ in the present state of things, armies can only be made up of the scum of the nations, and all that which is useless to society.”

It is not to be wondered at that such armies committed all kinds of outrage. In sieges, houses were more often attacked than ramparts ; the disarmed inhabitants, besides being subjected to contributions in kind and in money, were the object of cruel reprisals. In 1742, Belle-Isle took hostages at Prague. In 1757, in Hanover, women and children who opposed the plundering of their houses were massacred. All the ruses and atrocities of modern wars are already found in those of the eighteenth century.

Causes of Wars Under the Ancient Régime—This was one of the centuries in which wars were most frequent and their significance increased, because both the belligerents themselves and the objects of rivalry between them became more numerous, and colonial policies complicated continental policy and extended the field of strife. There were no longer religious wars, like the expedition against the Turks or the war of the League of Augsburg in the seventeenth century ; but the question of royal successions continued to excite conflicts between avaricious princes. The succession in Spain was settled by the Treaties of Vienna and of Seville (1725 and 1727). The Succession in Poland, which Stanislas Leczinski disputed with Augustus III of Saxony, set France, Savoy and Spain, who supported the former in arms, against Austria and Russia, who supported the latter. The war (1735–8) was ended by the Peace of Vienna (1738). The heritage of Charles VI, Emperor of Germany, was the motive for the War of the Austrian Succession, which lasted from 1741–1748, between France, allied with Prussia, and Austria allied with Sardinia and Hanover, that is to say, England. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only a truce during which all the

Powers made feverish military preparations ; and after a shuffling of alliances, France, Austria and Russia fought Prussia and England in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) which spread also between France and England into India and North America. It ended by the Peace of Hubertsburg in Europe, and the Peace of Paris in the colonies (1763). It was in all cases interest solely, and never principle, that was the cause of wars undertaken by the monarchy ; this is the only explanation of the sudden veering of alliances in 1756 ; the popular masses only took the interest in the strife that they were forced to take. A Minister, the Marquis d'Argenson, who represented Foreign Affairs (1744-1747), wished to profess disinterestedness, and announced to Europe that France did not desire annexations. He was ridiculed, and Louis XV dismissed him. At the end of the century (1779) a question of succession, that of Bavaria, again threatened Europe with bloodshed. Love of liberty was the motive that urged public opinion in 1776 to sustain with passion the cause of the American Colonies, and sent La Fayette and Jourdan to fight for them ; but Vergennes, Louis XVI's minister, in treating with Franklin, the American envoy, had no thought but that of vengeance on England. France flung herself against England in the American War (1778-1783), which ended by the Treaty of Versailles (1783) and cost her a milliard and a half.

Under the old régime, wars, all fought from interested motives, ceased only when the country, the armies, and the treasury were ruinously exhausted ; the fact is, according to the forceful saying of Montesquieu : " The essence of monarchy is war and aggrandizement."

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette—The grandson and successor of Louis XV, Louis XVI (1774-1792), was not capable of reforming the monarchic tradition. In 1774, at the age of twenty, he was full of good intentions, but conscious of the difficulties of his task and his own insuffi-

ciency. On learning of his accession, he groaned : " What a burden ! And I have been taught nothing ! " This big man, thrifty and honest in his private life, had neither intelligence nor charm, and was both weak and obstinate. He hated the trouble of thinking and did not know how to rule. Fearing obesity, he set himself to violent exercise ; he handled beams and blocks of stone, learnt the trades of locksmith and blacksmith, and hunted a great deal. In the note-book where he daily recorded the number of heads of game killed, he wrote for July 14th, 1789, the date of the Fall of the Bastille, the last day of absolutism : " July 14th. Nothing."

The Queen, Marie Antoinette, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, was young, ignorant, frivolous and selfish. Impatient of all constraint, passionately seeking pleasure, she lived in a state of continual festivities, and compromised herself by her imprudence. She surrounded herself at Court with a band of self-seekers, the Lamballes, the Polignacs, the Rohan-Gueménées, with whom she formed a political clan hostile to all reforms. By reason of her feather-headed prodigality, the people nicknamed her " Mme. Deficit." The King's brothers, the Count d'Artois and the Count de Provence, also brought discredit on the King by their mischievous intrigues and their reckless extravagance. The Court was more futile and depraved than ever, and it was there that ambassadorships, commands in army or navy, and ecclesiastical dignities were obtainable. " Beggars enriched by the art of begging," the courtiers besieged the King with their solicitations, and fawned on all those who had to do, directly or indirectly, with the great ones of the land. They detested the King and the Queen, about whose private life they spread infamous calumnies.

Although Louis XV had seriously compromised the age-long respect for monarchy, the people were ready to put faith in Louis XVI, and, as a matter of fact, his first acts

were well-chosen. He announced his desire to limit the expenses of the Court, and declared to the Lieutenant of Police : " It must be possible for the poor to get bread at 1*d.*" ; yet more essential, he did his best to surround himself with honest people. On May 11th, 1774, Louis XVI commanded the presence at Court of Maurepas as a guide to his inexperience. Maurepas was an old courtier who had been Minister for the Navy from 1723-1749 and had gained an undeservedly good reputation because of his disgrace through Mme. de Pompadour's intrigues. Maurepas performed the duties of Prime Minister, without the title, till his death in 1781. He had no principles except a regard for public opinion, but, thanks to a keen intelligence, he found men of real worth to replace the Triumvirate, viz. :—Turgot as Controller-General of Finance, Malesherbes over the King's household, Saint-Germain, Minister for War, and Sartine for the Navy.

Turgot's Great Effort—When made Controller-General (August, 1774), Turgot was little known to the public at large, but was much appreciated by the Philosophers for his writings and his collaboration in the " Encyclopedia." After studying philosophy and economics, he had been Councillor at the Parliament of Paris, and in 1761 had been named Governor of Limousin. As such, he put into practice the theories of the Economists. He showed himself a well-wisher of the people, whose taxes he lessened and whom he sought to educate ; he organized " charity workshops " for the needy, a kind of public aid in the form of supplying work ; he assured freedom of trade ; and he developed the ways of communication ; so that in thirteen years (1761-1774) he had turned a poverty-stricken Limousin into a prosperous province. Turgot, straightforward, disinterested, passionately devoted to the public good, owned a methodical and prompt intelligence. His friend Malesherbes said that he had " the heart of L'Hôpital and the head of Bacon." By right of his

philosophy, Turgot was the enemy of serfdom and of feudal dues, of fanaticism and of intolerance ("Letters on Tolerance," 1753-54). He wished to see lay systems of public relief and education. Convinced of the perpetual evolution of humanity ("Discourse on the Progress of the Human Spirit," 1750), he prophesied an era of universal peace, when "war would appear a state contrary to nature, the triumph of robbery and violence." Impatient to do good, Turgot wished to introduce too many reforms too quickly.

The critical financial situation occupied him first: the revenues had been spent in advance, the debts were due immediately, the deficit on the budget of 1774 amounted to a total of 335 millions of livres, of which the Government was short. In a letter to the King on August 24th, 1774, Turgot summarized his programme: "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxes, no borrowing"; careful saving and pitiless retrenchment on the allowances to courtiers. Although he had adjured Louis XVI not to "enrich even those he loved at the expense of the people's substance," Turgot did not obtain all the retrenchments he asked for. He attacked the official "Ferme" of tax-contractors and limited, in favour of the Treasury, its profits on the collection of taxes. In the interest of the peasants and workmen, he lowered the Octroi or town dues on necessary food-stuffs, and exempted from duty leases of rural demesnes and contracts relative to trades; while he ordered the privileged classes to pay the town dues. Acting on his advice Saint-Germain reduced the costly Household of the King. As early as 1775 Turgot had reduced expenses by 24 million, but he had made enemies of all who flourished on the abuses. Turgot, in accordance with the theory of the physiocrats, who saw in the land the only source of wealth, planned to replace taxes by a territorial subsidy levied on all landed proprietors; not being able at once to realize this transformation, he wished

first to develop public wealth by reforms. To this end he applied the formula of his master Gournay: "Laisser faire, laisser passer" ("Let men do, let things through").

From fear of famine the State had for some centuries carried on trade in corn, strictly regulated the markets, and laid on corn customs duties in the interior of the country. It was a costly proceeding. Besides this, in some years there was dearth in one province, while in a neighbouring district an excess of corn was rotting. By the Edict of September 13th, 1774, Turgot proclaimed the free circulation and free trade of grain. The courtiers who thenceforth could not get wealthy by speculating in corn, began their machinations against him. In the spring of 1775, as ill-luck would have it, after a bad harvest, the price of bread rose. Bands of so-called starving men, bribed by the Controller's enemies, appeared in Paris and the provinces, burning barns, sinking ships which were carrying grain, plundering bakeries and throwing the loaves into the river. Turgot stopped this "War of Flour" (April-May, 1775) promptly by energetic measures. The financiers, whom Turgot's policy endangered; the devout, who were shocked by his irreligion, accused him of having made the disturbances inevitable, and pamphleteers in their pay called him a charlatan. The Parliament, which Maurepas had rashly re-established in October, 1774, first tried to oppose the Edict, and then joined the clergy and the financiers; and neither the timid backing of the King nor the enthusiastic but clumsy support of the Philosophers, of whom the most ardent were Condorcet and Voltaire—could for long defend Turgot against this powerful coalition.

His Last Attempts—"Laisser faire": work must be freed from all encumbrances. In January, 1776, Turgot abolished the royal *corvée*,¹ which he had suspended by circular in May, 1775, and the corporations. We have

¹ Labour performed as a feudal due.

seen the wrong caused to the cultivators of the land by the royal corvée, which often took a man's time without pay, three days in succession. If he refused he was fined, and under Louis XV, in a single province two thousand seven hundred condemnations for this occurred in fifteen days. Turgot's Edict declared that in future all work should be paid, and that a tax on landed proprietors should defray this expense. The Edict on the suppression of wardenships, masterships and corporations, which "form an insurmountable obstacle to the lowering of the price of commodities necessary to the existence of the people," decreed that all persons, even foreigners, should be free to carry on the profession or trade they desired. Turgot's reforms were welcomed in town and country by enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of the peasants and workmen-associates. The privileged cried out upon the violation of their rights, protesting that Turgot "effaced, on the brow of the common herd, the mark of their original servitude." A subordinate of the Controller-General's, Boncerf, still further excited them by the publication of a pamphlet on the "Disadvantages of Feudal Dues," in which he prophesied their abolition. In the Ministry, Maurepas, jealous of Turgot's predominating position, worked secretly to undermine it. At Court, Marie Antoinette was in open conflict with him. On February 24th, the Parliament had Boncerf's pamphlet burnt. On March 4th, it registered remonstrances against the Edicts, in which it protested against the "inadmissible system of equality" introduced by Turgot. In one last effort to support the Controller, the King held a "Lit de Justice" on March 12th, when the Edicts were registered. On March 14th, the Swedish ambassador wrote to his King: "M. Turgot is up against the most formidable of leagues, composed of all the chief persons of the realm, all Parliament, all Finance, all the women of the Court, and all the pious people." Under pressure from this "League," from

the Queen and from Maurepas, Louis XVI deserted Turgot,—basely. Malesherbes spoke of retiring; Turgot wished to fight to the close, and in a letter of April 30th counselled the King with his usual bluntness: "Do not forget, Sire, that it was weakness which brought Charles I's head to the block." On May 10th, Louis XVI refused three times to receive him; and again on the 11th. On May 12th, he sent him the order, roughly, to surrender his office and leave Versailles without delay. Turgot's enemies were exultant; the people, as yet an inorganic and incoherent mass, incapable of defending him, bowed their necks again to the yoke.

Last Agonies of the Régime : Necker—After Turgot, who would have saved the monarchy had it been possible, matters were precipitated. His successor, Clugny, annulled all his reforms; then the direction of the finances was entrusted to a Genevese banker, Necker (October, 1776). The merits of Necker, a man of half-measures, lacking in Turgot's loftiness of character and outlook, have been much overrated; but he was at least an honest and clever financier. Necker had opposed Turgot, but sought to temporize by retaining some of his schemes. He embarked on economies, formed consultative assemblies in four provinces, a more liberal model of which is to be found in the "Memoir on the Municipalities," which Turgot by his disgrace had been prevented from presenting to the King. To meet the expenses, however, of the war in America, Necker had to have recourse to loans, amounting in 1781 to a total of 450 million livres. The Assembly of Berry had alarmed the privileged and compromised Necker at Court, by passing resolutions for equality in taxation and for representatives of the Nation to share in the government. In February, 1781, Necker replied to his enemies by divulging, in his "Account rendered to the King," a part of the mystery of the royal finances; this was the first time a budget had been published, and 100,000

copies of it were sold in a few weeks. The country learnt that the pensions of courtiers cost it annually 28 million livres. A coalition was formed at Court against Necker ; the Parliaments joined in the agitation ; Maurepas denounced to the King this Minister whose popularity vexed him. Necker was forced to resign (19 May, 1781).

Calonne—Whilst Joly de Fleury (1781-1783) and Le Fèvre d'Ormesson (1783) were Ministers of Finance, all idea of reform was abandoned. Loans were raised, new taxes levied, all sorts of expedients resorted to. The Queen's party, now all-powerful, forced on the King, Calonne, a former Governor of Metz and Lille (November, 1783). Calonne, brilliant and eloquent, was a born courtier and intriguer, presumptuous and thoughtless. He made a system of extravagance ; to contract loans credit was necessary, therefore appear rich by spending freely. He acted on this principle, and never did the Court know a Controller more obliging and more generous. In four years of peace, the debt swelled by five hundred millions, and reached a total of $4\frac{1}{2}$ milliard livres. In August, 1786, the Treasury was bare and credit exhausted ; the people were squeezed to a point which could not be exceeded. Then Calonne revealed himself as a bold reformer, a disciple of Turgot, all of whose ideas he adopted in a "Summary of a Plan to Improve the Finances," which he submitted to the King (20 August, 1786). Fearing Parliament and the very idea of a States-General, he conceived the scheme of getting his reforms approved by an Assembly of "Notables," to be selected by Louis XVI. But the Notables, who were all of the privileged class, and the Queen, caused the downfall of Calonne who had now become dangerous (April, 1787).

Brienne—After an interlude without a Minister, Louis XVI decided to call on one of the leaders of the opposition to Calonne, the Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, a protégé of Marie Antoinette's (May, 1787).

He was a corrupt, ambitious, greedy and ignorant prelate ; but he grasped the need for reforms. He dismissed the " Notables," extended the institution of Provincial Assemblies to the whole of France, formed in each parish municipalities elected in part by the inhabitants, and, finally, established territorial subsidies ; but he came up against the resistance of Parliament, which dissembled its penchant for privilege by demanding a States-General. Three " *Lits de Justice* " (August and November, 1787 and May, 1788) ; the exiling of the Parliament to Troyes (August-September, 1787) ; the arrest of two of the Parliamentary leaders of opposition, d'Esprémesnil and Montsabert, after a sitting lasting thirty hours (5-6 May, 1788) ; the substitution for Parliament of a Plenary Court, with power to register Edicts—these were the chief acts in the last struggle between royalty and the magistracy. By this time the people were everywhere showing signs of agitation. In the Dauphiné, insurrection was serious (" *Journée des Tuiles* " at Grenoble, 7 June, 1788), and the Assembly of the Dauphiné, meeting at Vizille, invited the French people not to pay taxes before their acceptance by the " National Assembly." Egged on by men who were destined to play a part in the Revolution, a national party was formed, not committed to the Parliamentary party. Brienne was forced on August 8th to promise to convoke the States-General for May 1st, 1789, and to declare the State bankrupt (16 August). On the 25th, he left the Ministry, taking with him two hundred thousand livres of the four hundred thousand which remained in the coffers.

The First Act of the Revolution—The prestige and the popularity of the monarchy were shattered ; therefore the sovereigns' hostility did not prevent the return of Necker to office. Necker obtained advances of twenty-five millions, thanks to the confidence he inspired ; but the public was only now concerned about a single question :

In the States-General would each order vote as a body? In that case the clergy and the nobles in alliance would muzzle the Third Estate. Or would the vote be taken individually, with the Third Estate having twice as many deputies as either of the other orders? The Notables, meeting a second time in November, 1788, and Parliament naturally pronounced in favour of the first solution; but, seeing the whole kingdom in a state of ferment, Necker induced the King's Council to agree to the double representation of the Third Estate (27 December, 1788). On January 24th, 1789, appeared the decree for the Convocation of the States-General. From that day, the French Revolution was inevitable.

The financial crisis was thus the immediate cause of the Revolution: "The public debt was the seed from which our liberties have sprung" (Mirabeau).

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF FRENCH THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The deeper causes of the Revolution must be sought in the movement of ideas and the state of society in the eighteenth century.

When one studies the intellectual activity of France at this epoch, two currents, apparently contradictory, but often co-existing in the same work, are to be traced ; on the one hand, an inclination towards broad generalizing theories, audacity of thought in lively enmity to the many-headed tradition on which the ancient order rested ; and on the other, frivolity, epicureanism and licence of thought and expression. The link between the two tendencies was managed by the light irony and the scepticism in which many works both serious and of wide import were clothed. Another characteristic of the eighteenth century was that the depicting of characters and the analysis of passions, which had been a great feature of the work of writers in the preceding age, was largely abandoned for studies of man in society and in the State. Newton's definition of poetry was quoted "ingenious silliness," and a geometrician's query : "A tragedy, what does that prove ?" To speculative or psychological literature there had succeeded a literature more actual,—politically and socially inspired.

The Three Great "Philosophers"—Voltaire (1694-1778)

dominates the century. Son of the notary, Arouet, educated by the Jesuits, having early in life suffered the rigours of the law twice over in the Bastille for the vivacity of his satires (1717 and 1726), he was forced into exile in England (1726-1729). He praised the free British institutions, which contrasted with the conditions of servitude in western Europe, in his "Philosophic Letters" or "Letters on the English" (1734), which mark a date in the history of intellectual connection between France and England,—that of the beginning of English influence on French manners and political ideas. The Parliament of Paris had this insulting book burnt by the hangman. To the same period belong the "History of Charles XII" and the "Henriade." After his stay with Frederick II at Potsdam (1750-1753) and the publication of his chief historical works—"The Century of Louis XIV," "Essay on the Culture and Standards (*l'esprit et les mœurs*) of Nations" (1758),—and of his philosophic tales or "novels"—"Zadig" (1747), "Candide" (1759),—he became "King Voltaire" and exercised a real intellectual sovereignty in Europe. In 1770 he settled at Ferney, his own estate; in 1778 he came back to Paris, in the heyday of his own glory; and he died shortly after.

Voltaire was indefatigable in active production, and left work behind him proving the universality of his genius. As a poet, he wrote tragedy, comedy, lyric and epic verse; he was the author of remarkable satires, epigrams and epistles; historian and philosopher, one of France's great prose-writers in his novels and correspondence (more than ten thousand of his letters have been published); author of innumerable pamphlets which he did not sign and often disavowed; a scientific and even expert "populariser"; withal, a clever man of business who at his death had an income of 160,000 livres. Voltaire may rightly be reproached with servility towards the powerful, with merciless hostilities, often petty and unjust; and with a

thirst for possession and for enjoyment ; but we must also remember that by his ardent and unwearying struggle against every abuse,—superstition, intolerance, arbitrary action, torture, errors of justice, he was the greatest apostle among the “ philosophers.” “ A great demolisher ” above all, as he described himself, he contributed powerfully to the downfall of the old régime.

Montesquieu (1689–1755), President of the Parliament of Bordeaux, had also exceptional influence. In the “ Persian Letters ” (1721) the satire on French manners and institutions was dissembled in a lively and playful way. The “ Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Decadence of the Romans ” (1734), was only a chapter taken from the “ Spirit of Laws ” (1748), Montesquieu’s chief work, where he praises the parliamentary monarchy of the English, and demands control of the government by the nation, and the separation of the three powers : legislative, executive, and judiciary. Although its success was immediate, the “ *Esprit des Lois* ” only exercised its full influence forty years later, on the men of the Revolution.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was the “ philosopher ” who, more than all, attracted attention to himself, and whose writings left the strongest impression on the revolutionaries of the future. Son of a watchmaker of Geneva, he became suddenly celebrated in 1750, through the publication of a paradoxical “ Discourse,” in which he maintained that Literature and Science in their progress had corrupted morals. He developed this idea by contrasting “ man naturally good ” with “ man spoilt by society ” in his “ Discourse on the Origin of Inequality ” (1755), in his “ Letter to d’Alembert on Shows (Spectacles) ” (1758), in his “ *Émile, or Education* ” (1762). “ *Émile* ” and also the novel, “ *The New Héloïse* ” (1759), which exalted the beauties of nature and the natural feelings then despised, provoked in high society a super-

ficial "virtuous" reaction. In "The Social Contract" (1762), which was destined to be the gospel of the Revolutionary Convention, Rousseau contended that, the interests of every one being safeguarded, a society could only exist if all its members freely and equally submitted to the wish of the majority, i.e. of the sovereign people. Like Voltaire, Rousseau believed in the immortality of the soul and the existence of a God, of a "supreme Being" superior to all religions [Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar in "Émile"; "Confessions" (1782)]: this is "natural religion" or Deism. Rousseau's ideas owed some of their effect to his glowing style, and persuasive eloquence, at times declamatory.

Other Philosophers ; Economists—Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau were the most illustrious of the Philosophers ; but many other writers strove energetically and by various methods for the same ends. Among them, only Condillac has left a name in the history of Philosophy properly so called, by his "Treatise on the Sensations." Buffon (1707–1788) wrote a "Natural History" in twenty-nine volumes, in which he ranged over the whole field of Nature, and which classed him as a great naturalist as well as a great writer. Diderot (1713–1784), story-teller, philosopher, art critic, a great disseminator of ideas, a vehement and unequal genius, gathered together the most ardent of the Philosophers in a gigantic task:—the "Encyclopedia," which was announced as "a general survey of the efforts of the human mind in all races and all centuries." Begun in 1751, its publication was only accomplished by 1772, owing to the tenacity of Diderot and the protection of Choiseul. All the great minds of the epoch collaborated in the "Encyclopedia" according to their different provinces. Diderot's second in the work was d'Alembert,—a natural son of Mme. de Tencin, abandoned under the porch of a church ; known specially as a scholar, he wrote the "Preliminary Discourse."

Grimm, in his correspondence with foreign courts, interested the sovereigns in the "Encyclopedia." The Farmer-General Helvetius, Baron von Holbach and Diderot himself gave it more and more openly a materialist bias ; and Montesquieu, Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau and Turgot, therefore, detached themselves from the "Encyclopedists," whom they found too extreme. The work does not make a harmonious whole ; but nothing did more than the "Encyclopedia" for the diffusion of the ideas of the philosophers and the economists.

The economists, who have already been mentioned in connection with Turgot, demanded industrial and commercial freedom. According to Quesnay, all wealth is derived more or less directly from the land ; hence the name, "physiocracy"—omnipotence of nature—which his disciple, Dupont de Nemours, gave to his doctrine. According to Gournay, industry must be added to the land as the second source of wealth. It was only in 1776 that the Scotchman, Adam Smith, formulated their ideas into a doctrine : Free Trade.

How They Paved the Way for the Revolution—It must not be thought that the philosophers and the economists, divided into atheists and deists, were united in a common desire for a Revolution. Neither Voltaire, although as early as 1764 he used the word, nor even Rousseau wished for it, and of these two Rousseau alone was a democrat. For all, except for him, the ideal régime seemed the English representative monarchy ; and Rousseau himself admitted that in his day the English were "the only nation of *men* who remain amongst the different herds with which the earth is covered." But the philosophers agreed in demanding all liberties ; and from this their work took its destructive character. Following the early more moderate forerunners,—Vauban and Fénélon in France ; Locke in England,—they sapped the principles at the base of the old society : the absolutism of divine

right ; the inequality of dues and duties ; religious intolerance ; prohibitive systems and regulation in industry and commerce. All were united in respect for human personality, in belief in the original goodness and perfectibility of man, and in faith in human reason, of which the cult became for some of them a veritable religion, though they were enemies of all cults. The absence of a new political system among the philosophers brings out the rôle they played in preparing for the Revolution. By interpreting the public discontent, and defining its causes, by formulating clearly and strikingly the ideas of their contemporaries so that they reached even the indifferent,—they popularized the new principles of sovereignty of the people, natural rights, equality, liberty, tolerance,—and made the Revolution possible.

Realm of Pure Letters—In other achievements of the eighteenth century, philosophy occupied a smaller place, and sometimes none at all.

The comic authors attempted to carry on Molière's tradition by depicting the manners of their time : Piron in his "Metromania," Gresset in his "Méchant," and especially Destouches (1680-1754) who, in his "The Philosopher Married" and "The Boaster" (1732), introduced, at the expense of the comic, the pathetic vein. After him, this new element dominates in the "tearful comedies" of Nivelle de la Chaussée, mediocre but with some influence on Voltaire and Diderot, and suggesting to the latter the theory of the bourgeois tragedy or drama ; the best bourgeois tragedy was Sedaine's, "The Philosopher without Knowing It" (1765). Marivaux (1688-1763), on the contrary, did not imitate any one ; he seized the most subtle soul emotions of the refined society, to which he limited himself in "The Game of Love and Chance," "False Confidences," "The Proof." The most powerful comedies of the century are "The Barber of Seville" (1775) and "The Marriage of Figaro" (1784)

by Beaumarchais (1732-1799), mordant satires on the abuses of the time written with sparkling fancy.

The tragic poets are not equal to those of the seventeenth century. Crébillon in "Atreus and Thyestes," and "Rhadamiste and Zenobia," deals with horrible subjects and at times attains real grandeur. Voltaire, influenced by the English dramatists, tried to introduce more life and emotion into tragedy, and surpassed all his rivals in "Zaïre" (1732), "Mahomet, or Fanaticism," and "Mérope" (1743). Ducis made the works of Shakespeare known by an over-free translation.

The odes of J. B. Rousseau, the sacred poems of Louis Racine and of Lefranc de Pompignan; the more stilted poems of the descriptive school—Saint-Lambert, Roucher, Delille,—in which nature is described but not felt, the innumerable licentious and jocular works of minor poets, only exceptionally contain anything worth preserving. Voltaire is the best poet of his time, especially in his epistles, his epigrams and his lighter pieces. At the close of the century Gilbert, who died prematurely, left some very fine verse; and André Chénier (1762-1794), inspired by recent philosophic and scientific movements, wrote verses of an antique beauty, like the Greek, so warm in colouring, and so sincere, that he ought to be regarded as a forerunner of the nineteenth-century poets.

Le Sage in his witty "Gil Blas" (1715-1735) claimed for the novel the character-painting which the comic authors and the moralists considered their special province. Marivaux in "The Life of Marianne" and the Abbé Prévost in "Manon Lescaut" produced famous examples of this branch of letters. Amongst the short-story tellers, the most remarkable were Voltaire with his "novels," Marmontel with his moral tales, Diderot with "The Nephew of Rameau" and "Jacques the Fatalist," two tales loosely constructed but strongly conceived, of the richest fancy, and written in dazzling style. Bernar-

din de Saint-Pierre, in "Paul and Virginia" (1787), continued the tradition of his master Rousseau. Florian, also the author of charming "Fables," contributes some over-sweetened pastorals. Choderlos de Laclos, in his "Dangerous Connections," Restif de la Bretonne in "The Perverted Peasant," cynically described the corruption of morals, and foreshadowed the realistic novelists. Vauvenargues, whose "Maxims" are inspired by a proud Stoicism; Chamfort, who in the "Products of a Perfected Civilization" scourged his contemporaries with cruel bitterness, carried out the work of the seventeenth-century moralists.

Men of letters, and aristocratic and middle-class members of high society, met one another in the salons. The "Entresol," founded in 1724 by Abbé Alary, was practically a Club, for the upholding in politics and philosophy of English ideas. Among those who gathered there were the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, the courageous theorist of the "Project for Perpetual Peace," a fine man, devoted to the public good; the Marquis d'Argenson, Montesquieu, and the Englishmen, Bolingbroke and Horace Walpole. Fleury had the Club of the Entresol broken up (1731). In the salons, writers had a preponderating influence and were able to win over to their ideas, at Mme. de Tencin's, Mme. du Deffand's and Mme. Necker's, the more enlightened Society people. The philosophers and encyclopedists had their headquarters at Mme. Geoffrin's and Mlle. de Lespinasse's, but met chiefly at their friends, Helvetius and von Holbach.

The Sciences—The scholars were seldom specialists; all were philosophers and many of the great writers prided themselves on scientific researches. Thus Voltaire, after making Newton's theories known in France, deserted literature for a time for science, and wrote memoirs on the nature of fire and the measuring of motive forces. Science was then considered a branch of phi-

losophy. In mathematics d'Alembert, physicist and geometrician, discovered the applications of algebra to mechanics ; Clairaut, member of the Academy of Sciences at eighteen, was a genius with a precocity like that of Pascal. Maupertuis and Condorcet may also be mentioned, the latter of whom at twenty-two published an "Essay on the Integral Calculus." Lagrange's most famous works were produced after 1789. In Physics, studies in heat led Réaumur to construct a thermometer (1730) and the brothers Montgolfier, and later Pilastre de Rozier, to attempt decisive experiments in aeronautics (1783). Cugnot and Jouffroy applied Watt's steam-engine, the one to the propelling of a cart, the other to the navigation of a boat on the Doubs (1776). Lavoisier (1743-1794) was the creator of modern chemistry, by the enunciation, in his law of the conservation of matter, of the first general method of research ; by bringing to pass the synthesis of water and the analysis of air ; and by the establishment of a chemical nomenclature (1787) with the aid of Berthollet and Guyton de Morveau. In the eighteenth century, knowledge of the surface of the earth was advanced, thanks to the calculations of La Condamine and Maupertuis, and to the voyages of Bougainville and La Pérouse. The botanists Bernard and Laurent de Jussieu thought out a natural classification of plants which completed that of the Swede, Linnæus. Buffon applied to the natural sciences the great philosophic views of his time,—the "Epochs of Nature," one of the supplements to his "Natural History," containing profound thought on the unity of Nature's plan, the continuous ladder of being, the mutability of species, and their distribution on the face of the earth.

The public grew more interested in the progress of science, thanks to the work of popularization done by the writers,—Fontenelle, Voltaire, Diderot, and, above all, the "Encyclopedia."

The Arts—In the arts, as well as in the purely intellectual field, the supremacy of France was clearly marked. They reflected faithfully the tastes and morals of aristocratic society : art was voluptuous, graceful, and “clever ;” but a reaction began to be visible at the close of the century.

The architects still held, in exteriors, to the imposing style adopted under Louis XIV. Gabriel built the palace of Place Louis XV (designated in 1792, Place de la Revolution ; and in 1795, Place de la Concorde), and the little Trianon at Versailles ; Louis erected the galleries of the Palais Royal ; Soufflot, the Panthéon ; Héré, Place Stanislas at Nancy. It was, however, in the “little châteaux” that majestic style was tempered with elegance, the decoration richest, and splendour sacrificed to comfort. Decoration and furnishing were also transformed ; the style of Louis XV is delicate, rounded, and characterized by light shades and original designs ; the style of Louis XVI is more rectangular, more sober.

The painters of “*fêtes galantes*” reproduced poetically the life of pleasure of the world of fashion. Watteau (1684-1721) inaugurated the School ; his scenery and his characters are creations of pure fancy with a touch of realism. Watteau is a luminous colourist and a poet,—Nicolas Lancret and J. B. Pater were his best disciples. François Boucher was a prolific but superficial painter of boudoirs ; his pupil, Fragonard (1732-1806), is far his superior in knowledge of drawing and charm of colour. Side by side with these artists, occupied exclusively with an over-refined and decadent aristocracy, were others, who, seeing the rise into prominence of the Third Estate, thought that its homely, sane life was more worthy to serve as inspiration. Chardin (1699-1779) depicts the people and the lower bourgeois class in the painting of simple and natural interiors, in which he displays great mastery of technique and a genius for observation. The

paintings of Jaurat and Lépicié are of the same kind. Greuze, under the influence of Diderot and Rousseau, set the fashion of a sentimental art with moral pretensions which seems to us to-day cold and conventional. The chief portrait-painters were Rigaud and Largillière, who belong in style to the preceding century; Jean Marc Nattier, the "painter of pretty women"; Tocqué, more sincere, and Quentin de la Tour (1704-1788), who left pastel-portraits of the most celebrated of his contemporaries, which penetrated to the bottom of their souls. Thanks to the perfecting of the processes of reproduction and to the talent of such artists as Saint-Aubin, Gravelot, Cochin, and Moreau the Younger, this epoch was the golden age of engraving.

The sculptors Le Lorrain and Guillaume Coustou, sculptor of the "Horses of Marly," continued the tradition of strength and grandeur of the seventeenth century. The chisel of Bouchardon, Coustou's pupil, produced works of a great variety: "Cupid cutting his bow from a piece of wood" and the "Mater Dolorosa" of St. Sulpice. The talent of Falconet, who sculptured an equestrian statue of Peter the Great at Petrograd, was no less versatile. Pigalle wished to return to a realistic study of nature; hence his "Voltaire nude," which is in the Library at the Institute. Caffieri, Pajou, and before all, Houdon (1741-1828), whose most famous work is the striking portrait of Voltaire at the Comédie Française, excelled in portraying physiognomy.

It is only in music that France was surpassed by the Germans: Handel, Bach, Haydn and Mozart. Rameau, whose chief work was the opera "Castor and Pollux," was, however, an innovator and the first great French composer; and Philidor, Monsigny, and Grétry composed charming comic operas.

Radiation of French Culture—Taken as a whole, while the glory of royalty was on the wane, and the old political

and social institutions tottering to their ruin, intellectual forces were at their highest ; French genius spread throughout Europe and served as a link between the nations. Illustrious foreigners, Englishmen like Walpole, Bolingbroke, Adam Smith, Arthur Young and Malthus ; Germans like von Holbach and Grimm ; Italians like Galiani, came to France to associate themselves with her intellectual movement. On the other hand, the sovereigns,—the “enlightened despots,”—competed with one another for the Philosophers ; but they did not abate their own autocracy, and were ready to arm, when the time came, against the French Revolution. Frederick II enticed Voltaire, Maupertuis and the doctor La Mettrie, to Potsdam ; and he pensioned d’Alembert. Catherine II was the protectress of Diderot and Marmontel, who both journeyed to Petrograd ; and she cajoled Voltaire. In Europe, all men whose birth allowed them to have an education, had a common stock of ideas and a common language, which they borrowed from France.

This wide radiation of French influence was facilitated by the weakness of national sentiment in the various countries ; for in continental Europe there was no nation strongly organized and none at all homogeneous. In France the monarchy could not have dragged the whole people into a war on a patriotic pretext ; those who fought did it as a trade ; the jealous and exclusive sentiment of nationality, which had not yet reached the people, had weakened among the privileged classes. There was no hatred of races or of nations. Alone at this time, the English had a patriotism all the more violent because it coincided with their commercial interests. Elsewhere, national ties were relaxed and frontiers only existed for governments. In 1772, Rousseau wrote : “There are no longer to-day French, Germans, Spaniards, even English ; there are Europeans.” Above ethnical groupings, this affinity of ideas and of sentiments born in France, this

internationalism of thought, which showed itself in far smaller proportions at the time of the Renaissance, brought about extraordinary intellectual activity, and hastened the era of social progress throughout Europe.

The French Monarchy attempted to check this activity, which it felt perilous, by terrifying authors and printers by its severe measures. It had renounced the direction of the world of thought, did next to nothing for letters and science, and in the arts only encouraged an inferior taste ; besides this, the intellectuals, whose talents—as was undisputed—made them any man's equal, had no longer any need of protectors and only depended on the public. Far from supporting them, the emphatic opposition of the writers forced the monarchy to combat them ; it had recourse to the penal laws, to tribunals, to the severity of the Parliament and of the Church, or simply to the arbitrary action of the censorship and of private warrants for arrest. Authors considered subversive were thrown into the Bastille, or forced into exile ; while their books were censored and condemned to be burnt by vindictive and obstinately conservative Parliaments ; and their printers were sent to the galleys. This tiresome tyranny was at the same time hesitating, capricious and occasionally subject to extraordinary modifications ; for the new ideas had their friends everywhere, even among the agents of the government, of whom some hawked about, or helped to get printed, the very works they were charged to prosecute : as Malesherbes did for the papers of Diderot and Rousseau's " *Émile*." The magistrates, the Court, the officers of the Church were the most eager to read the works which condemned privileges ; and the monarchy was helpless against the innumerable pamphlets, for the most part printed without the authors' names in Holland and Germany, costing little, easy to scatter broadcast, and circulating everywhere. In the eighteenth century the power of these little sheets is

comparable to that of the press nowadays. Public opinion is born, "an invisible power," wrote Necker, "which without wealth, without guards or armed defence, gives laws in the town, the Court, and in the palace of the King himself."

Conclusions—We will gather together the chief ideas which emerge from this general statement. It was at the very moment when the monarchy, in its death-struggle, grew powerless to encourage Art or Literature, that the vigour of French thought and its influence throughout the world were at their greatest. In spite of the opposition of royalty in alliance with all the forces of reaction, the philosophers gave a precise form to the incoherent aspirations of the people and spread abroad ideas of progress in Europe. The civilization then dominated by French ideas was cosmopolitan ; and this period, when, above the nations, now linked by the things of the mind and spirit, hovered a vision of the great community, was also that of an imaginative and intellectual flowering, never known before.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FRENCH PEOPLE ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

In the eighteenth century, Society was still feudal, as in the thirteenth—based on inequality. In 1789, it was the same in structure as under Louis XIV ; ¹ theoretically it was divided into three orders,—the clergy, the nobility, and the Third Estate ; but actually each one of these was again subdivided into very distinct classes, hermetically separated from one another. The vices of the structure were yet further aggravated by the transformations which took place within the different classes. France contained about twenty-five million inhabitants.

Higher Ranks of Clergy—Concerning the clergy, a hundred and thirty thousand persons, all that has already been said about their temporal power and wealth, their divisions into “ regular ” and “ secular,” into Higher and Lower ranks, mutually antagonistic ; about the administration of their Assemblies, their special jurisdictions can be repeated for the eighteenth century. In the reports of the Constituent Assembly, their fortune in land or estates or fixtures alone was valued at four milliards of livres, a fifth of the territory of France. To the revenues from their possessions must be added a hundred and twenty

¹ We only trace here the modifications of Society since the seventeenth century. For all concerning organization under the ancient régime, see Chapter XII.

millions of feudal dues and tithes, to arrive at the round revenue of the clergy: 220 millions. On this sum the clergy only paid taxes in the eighteenth century to the amount of one to two millions on an average each year, thanks to exceptions and subterfuges.

The largest share of the ecclesiastical revenues went to the higher clergy, recruited from the nobility, who with four or five exceptions monopolized the hundred and thirty-nine bishoprics and archbishoprics. The King, who, as the Revolution approached, gave more and more support to "his faithful clergy," so arranged that in 1783 there was no commoner in an episcopal seat; even the lesser nobility were excluded, to the profit of the great families in which the bishoprics were handed down like an appanage from one generation to another. Thus, for the most part unfitted for their calling, and disposing of princely revenues, the prelates, commendatory Abbés, and canons lived either at the Court or in their castles like the great lay nobles. Cardinal Louis de Rohan, Prince-bishop of Strasbourg, Landgrave of Alsace, ruled over thirty thousand people and possessed an income of 800,000 livres. In his Castle of Saverne he gave magnificent fêtes to which the great flocked from all over France and Germany. It was he who was to be acquitted in 1786 by the Parliament of Paris in the "Affair of the Necklace." (He wished to attract the Queen's favour by facilitating for her the purchase of a diamond necklace for 1,600,000 livres. Marie Antoinette was ignorant of the business; but the whole affair showed up the discredit into which the Queen of France had fallen, and formed, Goethe said, "the preface to the Revolution.") Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne, had an open liaison with his niece, and when a virtuous prelate visited him, had to warn his guests: "Gentlemen, no swearing to-day!" The Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, was not much better. Bishops, who were resident in and administered their own

dioceses and made pastoral visits, were the exception. Amidst the regular higher clergy, the rich Abbés and canons there was the same laxity of morals. Thus, the recruiting for the religious orders, especially since the suppression of the Jesuits, had been seriously compromised. Certain monasteries were almost empty, and the monks, too, were tainted with the luxury and dissoluteness of their superiors. In 1778, the Archbishop of Tours complained of the "debauched and disorderly conduct" of the Franciscans, who had become "quite degraded." The higher clergy showed indifference, and even irony, towards the faith by which they lived; their unbelief was less and less disguised as they rose in rank. Chamfort wrote: "A simple priest, a curé, ought to believe a little, or he will be charged with hypocrisy. . . . A vicar, on the other hand, may smile at talk directed against religion, a bishop may laugh outright at it, a cardinal may throw in a jest." What wonder that the clergy only strove half-heartedly against the philosophers and the growing impiety? No one feared a Revolution less than the careless and frivolous Higher Clergy of France.

Lower Ranks of Clergy—The lower clergy—sixty thousand curés and vicars,—always led a life of poverty; but their irritation had increased against their superiors "who, wallowing in opulence, had always seen them suffer with tranquillity," said a book of the clergy in 1789. The meagreness of their allowance, on which were levied "gratuitous gifts," reduced the curates to living on the peasants, yet more straightened than themselves; sometimes to gleaning in the fields, and even to begging. They were looked down on by the Higher Clergy, who excluded them from the Clerical Assemblies and the Provincial Estates, and never missed an opportunity of making them feel their arrogance. The lower ranks of clergy were, then, despised and starved under the old régime by the ecclesiastical aristocracy. In 1789 they were on the whole

more cultured, having bettered themselves at the same time as the Third Estate, to whom they corresponded in clerical society, and with whom they sympathized. Many curés were well-informed men, and opposed to the abuses from which they themselves suffered. The two hundred deputies of the Lower Clergy in the States-General contributed notably to the social transformation.

The Different Nobilities—The nobles—a hundred and fifty thousand persons,—were an inorganic mass, made up of heterogeneous groups, independent of each other, invaded by usurpers, whom they no longer sought to expose. In twenty thousand families, there were hardly four thousand of the old nobility. Never had their privileges been more exorbitant, and the King, realizing that he had more need than ever of strong supporters, tended to increase them ; he reserved the bishoprics and all the posts in his civil and military establishments for the higher ranks of the nobility. From the nobles at Court to the needy country squires in the provinces, all wanted money, for their properties were uncultivated and the luxury they could not do without plunged them into debt ; idleness was incumbent on them. For these reasons, they begged shamelessly for royal largesses, and pitilessly exacted payment of all feudal dues ; lawyers in their pay, feodists, even revived forgotten and ancient obligations. This attachment of the nobles to the existing order of things, and the abuses by which they profited, would induce us not to lay too much stress on the philanthropy and liberality professed by many of them at this period, who took a doubtfully-honest pleasure in emphasizing their own decadence.

The greater nobles, sometimes at Court, sometimes in the city, but always supported by the King, flung themselves into pleasure-seeking, with a kind of unhealthy recklessness. They threw money about, played away fortunes, in circles where cheating was a matter of course,

betted at races for which horses were imported from England ; and speculated on the Exchange, which was instituted in 1724. The great lords, even the richest like the Duke d'Orleans and Choiseul, were involved in debt. "A great lord," said Montesquieu, "is a man who has ancestors, debts and pensions." The aristocracy were cynically depraved ; legitimate love was held to be ridiculous ; and Rousseau effected only a superficial change. The adornment, the costumes in which this corrupt world paraded were marvellously rich and elegant ; delicacy of manners and conversation was exquisite ; a tastefulness, beyond denying, regulated the diversions of the theatre and the dance. *Æsthetes* may have been able to admire this super-refined civilization, but brilliant exteriors poorly veiled a moral bankruptcy, the discredit of which attained all the nobility.

The provincial nobles were jealous of the greater nobles, whom they accused of monopolizing the King's favours ; the country gentlemen vegetated in their dilapidated manors, vain and morose. Their sons kicked their heels in the army, officers without a career, for the higher grades were reserved for courtiers. The most enlightened took to agriculture and intellectual pursuits, and in 1789, although always devoted to the King, they admitted that his despotism should be curtailed.

The nobility of the robe held four thousand posts which they had purchased. Their importance was now even greater than under Louis XIV. Like the nobility of the sword, to whom they grew nearer in spite of reciprocal disdain, they comprised a class of greater nobles—members of Parliaments and Sovereign Courts,—and lesser nobles, secondary law and finance officers, and holders of municipal and university posts in certain towns. Many of those ennobled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had become founders of "gentle" families who adopted the life of great lords in their own right ; but,

generally speaking, the magistrates, members of this class, were honourable and moral, except in the exercise of their functions, where they showed a cupidity and venality which scandalized the public. Throughout the eighteenth century their Parliaments did not cease to struggle against the monarchy, whom they reproached with levying taxes arbitrarily, but they acted thus, not from liberal principles, but out of pride and desire for popularity. The narrowness of their conservative spirit was revealed in their hostility to Turgot, and is well summarized in this warning, sent to the King by the Parliament at Rennes : " To apply change to things which have always been done has dangerous consequences." In the States-General, the nobles of the robe were the most ardent defenders of the old régime.

Thus, at the end of the century, the entirely unorganized order of the nobility was a disorderly mob, divided into hostile classes, which had nothing in common save attachment to privileges.

The bourgeoisie, more than a million in number, had grown both richer and more cultured.

The Financiers—The financiers were the highest rank of bourgeois and the importance they assume is one of the outstanding facts of the eighteenth century. With their sub-orders, they formed a hierarchy of thirty thousand persons, occupied in collecting the royal taxes, and in selling offices which they created. At their head were the " Farmers-General " (i.e. tax-farmers), grouped into a syndicate of sixty bankers. Their advantageous contracts with the State and the severity of their methods enabled them to reap immense profits ; and they were always detested by the people, whose oppression they increased by their exactions. The richest financiers were refined people ; they allied themselves by marriages to the ruined high families, and kept great state. If one adds that they secretly gave pensions or allowances to the

courtiers, one can understand that they now enjoyed the consideration of high society. Among the Farmers-General, some played the rôle of Mæcenas, and held liberal receptions ; such were Crozat, Choiseul's father-in-law, and La Popelinière ; others, such as Lavoisier and Helvetius, were illustrious even in the intellectual field. In politics, finance played as large a part as in society. It supported the State in periods of extreme penury, and in exchange obtained a more or less secret hold on the Government. This influence was publicly exhibited by the four brothers, Pâris, who represented a finished type of the successful financier of the time, intelligent but unscrupulous men of business. Sons of a publican of Moirans in Dauphiné, they had already made a fortune out of victualling the army, when they took over the lease of the tax-farming at the beginning of the Regency ; soon the third, Joseph Pâris, called Duverney (1684-1770) assumed the lead among the brothers. Together they opposed Law and liquidated his bankruptcy. In 1723, when the Duke de Bourbon became Prime Minister, his mistress, Mme. de Prie, made Duverney, with some sort of title, the real Minister of Finance. Confined in the Bastille for monopolizing corn (1726-8), as soon as he was at liberty he took up again his business of victualling the army, whilst his younger brother, Pâris de Montmartel, became one of the great bankers of Europe, and procured money for the King, for his military expenditure. The War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War made them indispensable. Moreover, they had helped Mme. de Pompadour to conquer the King, and she did not forget them. When she became mistress in her own right, Duverney became the power behind the scenes and, says the Marquis d'Argenson, "absolutely governed three departments of the realm : the finances, war and foreign affairs." So, the rôle of finance in politics is seen to increase in the eighteenth century.

Maturity of the Bourgeois Class—Included also among the bourgeoisie were :—

(1) Men of letters, scholars and artists who were free of the patronage of King and nobles, and began to live by their pens or their art. These had a power out of proportion to the class-position they held.

(2) Members of the liberal professions—doctors, lawyers, professors.

(3) The nominal holders of three hundred thousand offices not conferring nobility.

(4) Merchants and industrials, who were almost alone to profit by the economic development.

The bourgeoisie solely was enriched during this century : alone or almost alone, it had been able to subscribe to the royal loans. Being thus associated with the public fortune, it was also the class directly affected by the financial chaos. On the other hand, leading a quiet family life, the middle-classes had had time for education and to digest the writings of the philosophers and the economists. Having reached social maturity, they felt themselves the equal of the nobility in spite of the latter's scorn, and they endeavoured to become their equal in fact. With this end, and to obtain a share in the financial administration, they desired reforms. The bourgeoisie, who formed, as we have already emphasized, a third privileged order, wished to increase its privileges—but nothing more ; it was not in the least democratic. It was for the bourgeoisie, as we shall see, that the Revolution was made.

The Artisans—The artisans, to the number of two and a half million, had not seen any betterment of their condition by the development of industry on a large scale. Their wages were 1-2 livres per day, 570 on an average per year, less for journeymen. In the small towns it was only half a livre per day. The best off were the workmen employed on royal manufactures : better paid and exempt from the common-tax and the billeting of soldiers ; but

they were subject to a monastic discipline. For example, at the royal glass factory of Saint-Gobain, the men were bound by contract for four years ; they were boarded in houses belonging to the factory, from which they could not go more than a league's distance under pain of fines ; and they had to return in the evening a quarter of an hour before closing-time under the penalty of sleeping out of doors and of paying $1\frac{1}{2}$ livres fine as well. They worked from 5 a.m. till 7 p.m., with two hours for meals, and received on an average 350 livres a year. From 1718, work did not cease for Sundays or fête days. The artisans after Turgot's fall were reorganized in narrow limits in corporations. To the rules of the corporations were added during the seventeenth century repressive royal measures.

In 1730, the Controller-General, Orry, forbade workmen to change their workshops, even if offered a better wage elsewhere, or to seek work abroad ; certain clothworkers, who had increased the pay of their workmen, were sentenced. In 1734, he forbade the Languedoc workmen to combine to obtain an increase of salary. In June, 1744, at Lyons, a regulation came into force concerning the industry of and trade in silk-stuffs, which prevented the small master-artisans and their workmen from working for their own profit, and put them at the mercy of certain big merchants. After a month of seething discontent, strike and insurrection broke out in August. The workers of Lyons decided that any one who would not abandon his loom or who worked at a deserted loom should suffer a penalty. After some skirmishes with the mounted police, they made themselves masters of the town and the Provost of the Merchants had to annul the regulation ; an order which was confirmed by the King's Council (August 10). Then the Government acted shamefully ; they sent troops to Lyons, had several workmen executed or sent to the galleys, and some months later the regulation of 1744 was

re-established (February, 1745). In 1749, the Government instructed artisans that they must only leave a workroom where they were ill-treated and not paid, and not "gather together in a body under pretext of brotherhood or any other." In 1777, it took measures against the paper-makers who formed themselves into a workmen's association, went on strike, put bad masters on a black list and "made themselves responsible for the success or ruin of the enterprises." In 1778, the Parliament went so far as to forbid the coffee-house keepers to admit more than four workmen at a time. At Castres, in 1786, boy paper-makers who had deserted a workroom where they were only given starvation wages, were imprisoned; but in the last years of the old régime, it happened here and there that governors, won over to liberal ideas, gave proof of moderation and refused to support masters' organizations formed to resist the workmen.

Machinery—The growth of large scale industry was rapid, although it was hampered by the tiresome rules of the corporations. In 1700 began the exploiting of the coal-mines. In 1742, the metal works at Creusot were founded; at the end of the century there were two hundred and forty-three blast furnaces. Saint Quentin employed sixty thousand weavers, six thousand spinners. At Amiens the Utrecht velvet was manufactured. The spinning-factories of Rouen and Mulhouse were important. Lyons, with fifteen thousand looms, was the silk centre. Thanks to Oberkampf, who started his factory at Jouy in 1759, an industry sprang up in printed, or Indian cottons. Paris manufactured a thousand pretty trifles, bazaar-goods, and introduced the industry of painted wall-papers. In 1768, kaolin was discovered near Limoges, and that town rapidly became a porcelain centre. French industry reached an annual production of a milliard livres, the largest on the Continent. In both old and new manufactures machinery was introduced. France was ac-

quainted with the technical progress of the English,—John Kay's fly-shuttle, Hargreaves' spinning-jenny, Arkwright's water-frame, Cartwright's steam-loom ; English industrial and mechanical workers came themselves to France to exploit these inventions. By causing a revolution in conditions of work, by precipitating progress in industry, the steam-engine made more keenly apparent how out-of-date and rigid were the industrial regulations, which remained as established by Colbert. The master-workers, the free artisans, still fairly numerous in the Paris suburbs ; the small cultivators, who combined agricultural and industrial work, and, for example, themselves wove their sheeps' wool—all these "domestic manufactures," as the English traveller, Arthur Young, named them, dropped behind or were unable to survive at all, in face of the competition of the great factories.

Absence of Class Consciousness—Thus, manual labour was abundant and cheap ; the workmen, living on bread and vegetables, starved as soon as the price of bread was raised, and then riots followed. The ill effects of a commercial treaty with England (1786), and, in general, the faults of industrial organization, had provoked an economic crisis which was at its height in 1789. Thousands of workmen were out of work :—At Abbeville twelve thousand out of fifteen thousand ; at Lyons twenty thousand out of fifty-eight thousand ; in Paris, among six hundred thousand inhabitants there were a hundred and twenty thousand beggars. By reason of the dearness of food-stuffs, even those who had work found living difficult. Revolts occurred all over the kingdom. The gravest workmen's riot broke out in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Paris, on April 27th, 1789. Several thousand workmen sacked, without carrying anything off, the houses of two contractors, who had declared that the workmen could live well on fifteen sous a day. Thus it was necessary that hunger should drive them to it before the workmen

roused themselves from their passive resignation. They had not yet attained class consciousness ; but, especially in the towns, they heard talk, talked among themselves, and read ; and they began at least to realize their importance in society, and to contrast it with the miseries of their uncertain life.

Condition of the Peasants—The peasants numbered twenty-one millions, nearly nine-tenths of the population : the French were a peasant people. The parcelling out of property continued. In many districts the peasant was possessor of the soil, but there were only half a million who were so entirely ; the greater part cultivated the land as farmers, holding land on condition of giving up a proportion of the produce, or as copyholders, i.e. by paying quit-rent or feudal dues to the real owner, clerics, nobles, or bourgeois. With these different methods of exploitation, the sub-tenants, according to Turgot, were “ always reduced to the limit of what was necessary in order not to die of hunger.” As soon as a clearing was made, the peasants bought it up, lot by lot, from the needy nobles, who remained, however, superior proprietors by their right of redemption. Still more humble were the day-labourers, agricultural workmen hired from day to day for a wage averaging half a franc per day ; the “ cultivators ” were labourers employed by the year in return for clothing, lodging and food. The men subject to mortmain were still a million and a half. Voltaire, who was indignant that there should be “ Christian people groaning in the bonds of a triple slavery under monks who have taken the vow of humility and poverty,” devoted himself to the liberation of the serfs living on the lands of the canons of Saint Claude ; in 1779 a royal Edict abolished mortmain, “ vestige of a rigorous feudalism ” ; but the Parliament of Besançon refused to register it, and the canons only freed their serfs out of fear, in 1789.

The King's taxes, direct and indirect, the tithes of the

clergy, the feudal rights of the overlord, remained to a crushing extent for the peasant in the eighteenth century. All the wealthy classes were now exempt from the common-tax, which, bringing in an annual revenue of 80 million livres, fell wholly on the country people. It was the same with newly-created additional taxes—the tenth, the fiftieth, the two twentieths, of which by favour, or by false declarations, the privileged paid eight times less than they should. The statute labour¹, which Turgot attacked in vain, took about fifty-two days each year from the cultivator. Without counting the injury thus done to him, he retained only 20 livres on every 100 livres of income. In spite of timid palliatives, offered during the last years of the old order, the knavery and brutality of the collectors, the pitiless prosecution of insolvent debtors, the hardships of seignorial justice, where the lord was both judge and party in the case, continued to make existence still harder for the peasant.

These Conditions not Improved—Although it is not easy to arrive at a general conclusion, and although the situation varied in different provinces and in different years, the majority of contemporary reports bear witness to a persistent, pitiful poverty. In 1725, Saint-Simon saw in Normandy country folk eating grass, and defined the realm as “a vast hospital of dying people, from whom everything is requisitioned in times of absolute peace.” In 1739, the Duke d’Orleans brought to the King’s Council a piece of bread made of fern ; three rebellions broke out at Ruffec, Caen and Chinon ; the Bishop of Chartres, on being questioned as to the state of his diocese, replied that “men are eating grass like sheep and perishing like flies.” In 1740, the famous preacher, Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, wrote to the Minister that the Auvergne peasants “live in a shocking state of want, without beds or furniture.” From 1723–1756, there were eleven famines, which if not general, affected several provinces, and numerous risings

of starving peasants who only asked for bread. Just before the Revolution in Normandy, men were eating moistened bran, and little children were swelling and dying from it ; and, in 1787, the provincial Assembly of Auvergne prophesied that unless immediate succour came, " the province will lose for ever its population and its culture." The peasants lived for the most part in mud cottages without windows, furnished most primitively and with beaten mud floors ; in all seasons they were clad in brown holland, with sabots in summer, and were so dirty that Arthur Young described them as " walking muck-heaps."

Yet there were some less evil years, of relative prosperity ; and the best proof of this is that from 1715-1789 the country population increased by eight millions. In spite of the want of plant and of means of communication, in spite of the instinctive distrust of the labourers for all innovation, agriculture improved a little in the second half of the century, thanks to private initiative ; the Economists and the Agricultural Societies, of which the first was founded in Brittany in 1761, and the Consultative Committee of Agriculture (1785) largely contributed to this. Parmentier popularized the potato ; the Agricultural Societies fought the cattle-diseases, which were making great ravages. Daubenton introduced merino sheep. The régime, however, was unfavourable to progress and discouraging for people of goodwill ; the land remained anything but productive. On the huge domains of the nobles, entire districts lay fallow,—a constant source of exasperation to peasants threatened by famine. Young, in Brittany, found " agriculture no more advanced than among the Hurons " and that throughout France generally it " was still at the level of the tenth century."

Hence, after the bad harvest of 1788 and the severe winter of 1788-9, the need was general, and it was aggravated by the cupidity of the big proprietors, who waited to sell at the highest rate, or exported their grain. In

January, 1789, a four-pound loaf cost in Paris 14 sous, and 20 in certain provinces,—an amount equivalent to-day to about 10 francs the kilogramme. Risings were continuous, especially in Provence. At Marseilles and Toulon the people invaded the Town Hall, threatened the tax-agents, and demanded a reduction in the price of the chief food-stuffs; at Aix they fell upon the houses of prominent citizens and took grain and flour. In Brittany, disturbances had begun from the end of 1788 onward, “not against the government,” the Governor wrote to Necker, “but against the nobles and great proprietors.” At Baud, near Pontivy, the peasants cried out that they must “crush all the bourgeois and gentlemen.” In the Ile de France, Orléanais, Burgundy and Guyenne, hostility between the classes was equally marked, and the outbursts as violent; everywhere the peasants opposed the sending of corn out of their district. There were few personal outrages, but in this way, at the beginning of 1789, a large proportion of the French people were carrying on a class war which was the prelude to the Revolution. The simultaneous crises in industry and in agriculture, that is to say, the town and country rebellions, foreshadowed grave events from that time onwards.

What has been said about the peasants may be summed up by the statement that their misery was scarcely less than under Louis XIV. Rough and suspicious, they lived cut off from the other classes of society; especially from their own overlords, who no longer were obliged to protect them, did not help them, and were of no use to them at all. In spite of their primitive state, the peasants had come to a realization of the injustice of feudal survivals, of which they desired the suppression, and at the same time they demanded a lightening of the crushing State charges.

No Public Instruction—The revolutionary spirit of the peasants, like that of the workmen, was limited by the

ignorance in which they had been kept by royalty, and which in great measure prevented the propaganda of the Philosophers from reaching them; by far the greater part of Frenchmen, 80 or 90 per cent., did not know how to read. The government had never concerned itself with primary education. In 1694 and 1698 under Louis XIV, in 1724 under Louis XV, ordinances prescribed punctual attendance at the Schools, but only to impose Catholic teaching on Protestant children. The Kings, without money to build schools or pay masters, left all the education of the people to the clergy. Any one who came, with the approbation of the Bishop, was taken as teacher; his position was so precarious that he had to devise all sorts of other ways of earning his bread, in conjunction with his teacher's business. He was under the authority of the priest, taught badly what he knew—the alphabet and the catechism,—and abused his power of corporal punishment. In some districts there was not one school among twenty villages.

The absence of public education was only one of the vices of the monarchic administration, all of which still persisted in 1789;—in political organization,—with the arbitrary power of an absolute sovereign, king by divine right, with his sealed warrants, right of confiscation and permanent censorship; and with the rapidly changing Ministers, subject to influence of all kinds, and unstable in their views; in provincial organization, with all local liberties suppressed by the excessive centralization of the governors, and with the different branches of the administration and the different spheres of each inextricably confused; in the organization of legal affairs, with the King supreme master, but with the utmost diversity between one province and another in the tribunals, the jurisprudence and the penal code; and one district sometimes divided into several jurisdictions, so that difficulties and disputes were incessant. The fiscal department was just

as incoherent ; the taxes fixed according to the King's caprice were unequally assessed on one side or another of the customs' boundaries,—real interior frontiers. The particularist spirit among states was very strong ; the King was said not to have “ naturalized the provinces of his realm.”

Causes of the Revolution—In 1789, the French people, “ an unorganized aggregation of disunited people,” were drawn together by an almost universal discontent with the government, and were beginning to take shape as a nation. By forming channels for this discontent, by defining the theoretic reasons which justified it, the Philosophers had already made the Revolution in men's minds. Society, the basis of the régime, divided into classes in water-tight compartments, went to pieces because of the hostility or indifference of its own members. The bourgeoisie formed the only mature class,—already in possession materially, it wished to direct affairs, and was to prove capable of guiding the Revolution according to its own interests. The people—the “ martyr people ” as they were described by the Bishop of Nancy at the Mass on the opening of the States Assembly—at first only followed the bourgeois movement ; they were prepared for events, said Mirabeau, “ far more by the realization of their ills than by the progress of their enlightenment.” Nothing had been changed in the bad administration, the wasteful extravagance, the abuses of arbitrary rule, despotism and injustice. Verbal philanthropy was the fashion ; men pitied but did not act. Royalty, discredited by Louis XV, was not refurbished by Louis XVI. A starving people in revolt,—a bankrupt Treasury—such in broad outline were the causes, immediate and remote, of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XV

THE SHOCKS OF REVOLUTION (1789-1799)

A. THE MONARCHIC PERIOD. (THE "CONSTITUENT" AND THE "LEGISLATIVE.")

The States-General—After the decision to convoke the States-General of January 24th, 1789, the elections of deputies took place from February to May on the principle of the doubling of the Third Estate that Necker had adopted. The nobles and the higher clergy elected their representatives directly. In the elections for the Third Estate and lower clergy, only men of twenty-five and over, and paying taxes, took part in the voting, and the election was made in two stages. At the same time, budgets of resolutions and of grievances were drawn up on all sides. In the enthusiasm and the confidence which the convoking of the States aroused, these were in general moderate and professing attachment to the monarchic tradition. Profound differences, however, manifested themselves between the classes making up the different orders; and, in the first place, the opposition between the privileged classes and the Third Estate on the question of voting in the Estates, individually, or by classes, was very keen. Although at the beginning it seemed as if all the deputies had been permeated by a spirit more or less hostile to despotism, two parties arose in the States-General, as in the nation. There were one thousand one

hundred and fifty-five deputies,—five hundred and ninety-eight in the Third Estate, two hundred and ninety-one clergy and two hundred and sixty-six nobles. The group of the privileged numbered three hundred members, of whom one hundred were clerics—the higher clergy—and two hundred nobles ; these were for the vote by “ orders,” in three separate chambers. Without a positive programme and without leaders, they were blindly conservative. The party of reform was made up of the deputies of the Third Estate, two hundred democratic priests, and seventy liberal nobles ; this party had the nation behind it, and had as its first mandate, to back the vote per head. Face to face with the States-General, Louis XVI, after fifteen years of absolute power, remained feeble in character, and heavier than ever in body and wits. Hostility was, generally speaking, directed rather against the privileged classes than against the King, who might have been arbitrator and moderator of the Revolution ; but under the influence of the Queen and of Count d’Artois, Louis XVI inclined to favouring the privileged class, whose greed had nevertheless obliged him to appeal to the nation to save his throne. It was through his ambling pursuit of this contradictory and vacuous policy that he let loose revolutionary violence.

First Conflicts : the National Assembly—On May 2nd, the day of the presentation of the deputies, Louis XVI had already vexed the members of the Third Estate by showing them from his manner of receiving them the great difference he made between them and the privileged orders. On May 5th, at the opening, in the Hall of the Menus-Plaisirs at Versailles, some stiff and brusque sentences of the King’s, an exposition of the royal programme by Barentin, Keeper of the Seals, and a long speech by Necker on the financial situation, caused profound disappointment ; there was no decision as to method of voting. Forewarned by the impertinences of

the privileged party towards the Third Estate, conflict broke out next day, concerning the "affirmation of powers," which the Third Estate wished to make jointly in order to hinder from the beginning the separation of the Assembly into Orders. The Third Estate waited for the other Orders, who deliberated apart, till June 17th ; on that day, on the proposal of Siéyès, and "in view of the fact that it represented 96 per cent. of the nation," it declared itself the sovereign "National Assembly," and took charge of the finances.

To this first act of revolution, the King replied by an act of authority ; on June 20th, the deputies found the Hall of the Menus shut. They betook themselves at once to the "Jeu de Paume" close by, and under the Presidency of Bailly, on a formula of Siéyès, took the oath not to separate till they had given a Constitution to the realm ; this is known as "The Oath of the Jeu de Paume." On June 22nd, the majority of the clergy—150 deputies—joined the Assembly. At the Royal Session on June 23rd, Louis XVI declared haughtily that privileges were immutable, and annulled the decisions of the Assembly ; he ordered it to disband and from the next day to sit in three Chambers. The Third Estate was irritated, not intimidated ; and when the Grand Master of the Ceremonies came after the Session to report the King's orders to the reforming deputies, who had remained in their places, Bailly replied : "I do not think that the Nation assembled can receive orders" ; and Mirabeau, Deputy of the Third Estate, from Aix, added :—"Go and tell those who sent you that we shall not go from here except at the point of the bayonet." The people of Versailles, as soon as the incidents of the Session were known, invaded the Palace Court without resistance from the guards. Louis XVI gave way, and after four days made a remarkable right-about-face, ordering, on June 27th, the meeting of the three Orders. This was the end of absolutism.

Taking of the Bastille—The “infernai cabal” which controlled the King—the Queen and her confidants, Count d’Artois and Barentin,—prepared for revenge by concentrating round Versailles twenty-five thousand men, mostly from foreign regiments. Feeling they were threatened with a coup d’état, the Assembly sent a deputation to the King to demand the withdrawal of the troops ; he refused (10 July). On July 11th he dismissed Necker, who had public opinion and the credit of the financiers on his side ; and Breteuil and Marshal de Broglie, both violently conservative, became one Minister of Finance, the other Minister for War. The excitement at this news was great, reaching its height at the Palais Royal, in Paris, where a young lawyer, Camille Desmoulins, called the crowd to arms. On July 12th, the people of Paris rose, armourers’ shops were plundered ; a charge by the cavalry of the Royal-German regiment exasperated the population. On the 13th, a Permanent Commission was installed at the Town Hall and created a town militia, the “national guard.” The crowd demanded arms at the Town Hall, but the Provost of the Merchants, Flesselles, had them hidden. On the morning of the 14th, the mob invaded Les Invalides and laid hands on 32,000 rifles. After searching the Monastery of the Chartreuse monks, the crowd of workmen and clerks of la Basoche (Law Courts) turned without any thought-out plan towards the Bastille, to get arms. Though the garrison was very weak—thirty-two Swiss and eighty-two pensioners,—this huge royal fortress seemed impregnable. From below, fifteen cannon were visible in the embrasures, trained on the town. In the course of negotiations to get the cannon withdrawn, a salvo was fired from the towers. Immediately the infuriated mob rushed to the attack. After a murderous siege of five hours, the garrison capitulated ; the governor de Launay and Flesselles were massacred. On the day following the

taking of the Bastille, Louis XVI announced the disbanding of the troops. On the 16th he recalled Necker. On the 17th, in Paris, he accepted the tricolour cockade from the hands of La Fayette, Commandant of the National Guard.

The Night of August 4th : the Days of October—Thus the people of Paris had saved the Assembly ; but after this intervention they remained armed and excited, as they will be found to be after every day of revolution that succeeded ; on July 23rd, Foulon, Marshal de Broglie's assistant, and Bertin, Governor of Paris, were savagely massacred. In spite of these excesses, the Fall of the Bastille, the State Prison, its dungeons filled by despotism, was from that time forth for all Frenchmen the symbol of the collapse of the old régime. The provincial towns followed the example of Paris and formed municipalities and national guards, recruited from the middle-classes ; the whole of France set up municipal forms of government. In the country also there was an upheaval : a panic terror—"the Great Fear"—spread, prompted at first by the fear of imaginary brigands, who gradually became identified as the enemies of the Republic. This spontaneous and contagious nervous apprehension spread in slow waves all over the land. Dreaming of "brigands," the peasants and shopkeepers kept armed watch, by day and night. The country people flung themselves on the castles, where they burnt documents relative to the feudal dues, and often the castles too. This formidable "Jacquerie," which, in Alsace, Franche-Comté, Burgundy and the Dauphiné, degenerated into social war, only lasted fifteen days (22 July-7 August). To put an end to the troubles, the Assembly, on the motion of the Vicomte de Noailles, in a general enthusiasm and rivalry of sacrifice, voted the abolition of feudal and ecclesiastical dues, of trade councils and corporations, of the sale of offices, and of all the privileges possessed by the provinces

and by individuals (night of August 4th). The putting into effect of this social Revolution would have left nothing of the old régime. Louis XVI, who appeared resigned, thereupon became popular, but only for a short time ; for he delayed the ratification of the decisions of August 4th, reassembled troops at Versailles, and, at a banquet of the Bodyguard, allowed the black cockade to be acclaimed at the expense of the tricolour. The black cockade was the Austrian cockade, that of the Queen. Besides these provocations, the people were excited by the discussion in the Assembly over the new Constitution, by the fear of bankruptcy and by counter-revolutionary "agents provocateurs." Lastly, famine was threatening. On October 5th, in the morning, seven thousand women drawing cannon, and followed by several thousand men, marched on Versailles to demand bread from the King. The Assembly was besieged and the Palace blockaded. The crowd bivouacked in Versailles for the night. The next morning they invaded the Palace and threatened the Royal family, who were protected by La Fayette and his National Guards. Then the King was forced to promise from the balcony :—" My friends, I will go to Paris, with my wife and my children." At one o'clock they set out with a procession of thirty thousand persons singing :—" We are bringing back the baker, his wife and little baker's boy " ; they did not arrive till ten in the evening at the Tuileries—(6 October). Yet once again popular action precipitated the Revolution and eased the task of the Assembly, which established itself on October 16th in Paris, in the Salle du Manège, and thenceforth the debates were followed with passionate interest by the people, who even interrupted, during the Sessions : though not yet, as later, dictating their order to the Assembly, arms in hand. Thus, after the days of October, the people of Paris had become masters of the law-making powers, the King and the Assembly.

Lull of 1790—In the midst of the economic crisis, which had not improved since the beginning of 1789, and which was threatening the progress of the Revolution, the Assembly worked at the new Constitution. The period from the days of October to the first months of 1791 was relatively calm. In charge of Finance, Necker was trying expedients, and still the deficit grew. In the provinces, the clergy, and the Parliaments—which were to be suppressed in September, 1790—and the Provincial Estates, resisted the reforms of the Assembly; the people, seeing that in many respects the old régime still persisted, grew impatient. The King took oath after oath to the Assembly, but he and his entourage intrigued against it, and sought accomplices in its midst. In April, 1790, the Court entered into relations with Mirabeau, who tried to guide the King, and committed the fault of taking pay for his services; but the most important fact of the period was the emergence of federations of “patriots,” that is to say, friends of liberty,—the first of which met at Étoile (Dauphiné) on November 28th, 1789. Soon, federations were formed all over France and combined into a National Federation, whose fête took place in the Champ-de-Mars on July 14th, 1790; two hundred thousand persons took part with great enthusiasm; fourteen thousand deputies from all corners of the land, swore fidelity there to “the Nation, the Law, and the King.” From this day forth the French, united by oaths freely offered, truly formed a nation.

The Flight to Varennes—On that day also, Louis XVI took his oath; but it was only against the grain that he sanctioned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (24 August, 1790); and after the death of Mirabeau (2 April, 1791) he thought more seriously than ever of engineering the counter-revolution. Having learnt the day before that the King had heard mass said by Cardinal de Montmorency, a “non-juror,” the crowd prevented on April

18th Louis' leaving for St. Cloud.¹ When next day he went hypocritically to take a fresh oath at the Assembly, he was already dreaming of nothing but flight to Metz, to join the army of the Marquis de Bouillé, in order to march at once on Paris.

During the night of the 20th and 21st June, the King, the Queen, their two children, and Mme. Elizabeth, the King's sister, disguised, furnished with false passports and accompanied only by a governess and three bodyguards, left the Tuileries. Relays and military posts had been prepared on the way; but a delay of three hours in the arranged programme upset all plans. Recognized at Ste. Menehould by the son of the post-master Drouet, Louis XVI was arrested on June 21st at midnight at Varennes and taken back to Paris. The Assembly had suspended him from the 22nd; and when the royal family, in the midst of the dead silence of the crowd, re-entered the capital, many were those who felt that it was the "funeral of monarchy" that was passing by. Confidence in Louis XVI's sincerity vanished. His suspension, in the course of which the Assembly took over the Government without difficulty, dispersed the belief in the necessity of a monarchy. The republican party, weak until now,—Danton, Robespierre, Marat, were monarchist before Varennes,—grew stronger; but as yet many of its members only demanded the dethroning of Louis XVI.

The End of the Constituent Assembly—The Constituent Assembly remained monarchist, and, to clear the royal family, pretended that the Varennes affair was a carrying off of the King by the aristocrats. The Club of the Cordeliers (from the name of a Franciscan Convent), where Danton ruled, demanded the organization of a new executive power. On July 17th, *à propos* of a petition presented by the Cordeliers at the Champ-de-Mars, a

¹ At Saint Cloud, near Paris, there was a royal residence.

murderous fray broke out between the Republicans, about ten thousand in number, mostly workmen, and the national guard. The "Fusillade of the Champ-de-Mars" alarmed the Assembly and definitely separated the Constitutionals from the democrats; the national guards especially, bourgeois householders, friends of order and satisfied with the Constitution, were irritated with the peasants and workmen, who thought the Revolution incomplete. After Varennes, the emigration of the aristocrats, which had begun the day after July 14th, 1789, had increased; the emigrants, mustering at Coblenz, were now astir, directed by the King's brothers and Calonne. However, the Constitution, finally drawn up on September 3rd, was accepted on the 13th by the King. Louis XVI, who was recovering his powers, swore solemnly before the Assembly, "to employ all the power which had been delegated to him, to have it executed and maintained" (14 September). On September 30th, 1791, the Constituent Assembly broke up.

Strained Atmosphere of Political Life—At this period, political life, transformed by the establishment in Paris of the public authority, had become very intense. The people closely followed the work of the Assembly and the evolution of the different parties. Amongst the pure royalists,—the "Aristocrats,"—the best orators were Cazalès, a noble of the robe, and the Abbé Maury. To the right Centre, the Monarchians or "Impartials," admirers of the English monarchy, were inevitably pushed more to the right; their spokesmen were Malouet, a former Governor, and gentlemen like Lally-Tollendal and Clermont-Tonnerre. To the left Centre, the Constitutionals formed the majority of the Assembly; they rejected the English two-chamber system and their opinion prevailed in the Constitution of 1791. The most eminent of them were:—men of law like Tronchet; ecclesiastics like Gregoire and Siéyès; the astronomer

Bailly ; liberal nobles like Talleyrand, La Fayette and the two La Rochefoucaulds. Mirabeau, the greatest orator of the Assembly, attached himself to the Constitutionals ; he desired a strong royal power, but depending on the people and respecting their liberties. Ugly, yet of remarkable force, he came into disrepute on account of his disorderly life, and was deeply in debt. Disappointed in his ambitions by his colleagues, he made overtures to the Court, but could not attain power ; his life is a great career that just missed fulfilment. To the left were the Triumvirate : Charles de Lameth, Barnave, a very eloquent young lawyer, and du Port. Those of the extreme Left, Dubois Crancé, Pétion, Buzot, and even Robespierre, had as yet little influence. Men in politics had acquired the habit of gathering together in Clubs to exchange opinions. The Jacobins, founded by some Breton deputies in October, 1789, became an organized power by the adhesion of a great number of provincial societies. As yet they were very lukewarm. After Varennes, the more moderate Jacobins formed the Society of the Feuillants. At the Cordeliers, the speakers to be heard were Desmoulins, Danton, Marat, and demagogues like the brewer Santerre and the butcher Legendre, the journalists Hébert and Chaumette ; this was the most keenly revolutionary club. The people now read a number of newspapers :—" The Acts of the Apostles," Rivarol's royalist journal ; Mirabeau's " Courrier of Provence " ; Camille Desmoulin's " The Revolutions of France and of Brabant " ; Brissot's " French Patriot " ; Marat's " Friend of the People," etc. Socialist tendencies, still only vague, began to appear in popular opinion and in the press ; Rousseau had already demanded property reform in his " Discourse on Inequality " and his " Social Contract " ; Morelly in the " Code of Nature " (1755-1760), Abbé Mably in his " Doubts on the Order of Society " (1768), Brissot, the future Girondin, in " Inquiries into

Property and Theft" (1780), contested the principle of property and demanded community of wealth. In the Social Circle, or Club, founded by Abbé Fauchet in October, 1790, the tendency was at once socialist, equalitarian, and rather mystic; the Circle had a periodical: "The Mouth of Iron." Fauchet insisted that "every man has a right to the earth," and pronounced in favour of universal suffrage and an "agrarian law." He was opposed by the Jacobins.

Importance of the Work of the Constituent Assembly—
In the midst of this mental ferment, the Constituent Assembly had instituted bold reforms. To remedy the deficit, it decided, at the suggestion of Talleyrand, on the sale of the possessions of the Clergy for the profit of the State, which thenceforth should be charged with the support of public worship and relief (Decree of November 2nd, 1789). These possessions, estimated at four milliards, were the guarantee for a paper-money or "assignat." More than forty-five milliards of assignats were issued from 1789-1796, and they fell gradually to less than 3 per cent. of their nominal value. The chief work of the Assembly, however, was the drawing-up of the Constitution of 1791.

Inspired by the Philosophers and the example of America, the Assembly prefaced the Constitution with a "Declaration on the Rights of the Man and the Citizen," which proclaimed national sovereignty, the division of power, the equality of all men before the law, freedom of thought and conscience, the responsibility of public agents, the guaranteeing of the "natural and imprescriptible rights of man, property, security and resistance to oppression." The government set up by the Constitution of 1791 was representative; the electoral system was based on the census and only gave the right to vote to active citizens of twenty-five years and over, paying a certain amount in taxes. There were four million three

hundred thousand active and three million passive citizens. The elections were made in two stages. The legislative power was referred to an Assembly of seven hundred and forty-five deputies; the Executive to the hereditary, irresponsible "King of the French" who had a right of veto suspending execution for four years on the decisions of the Assembly; judiciary power belonged to elected judges. There was a Justice of the Peace for each canton, a civil tribunal for each district, and a criminal tribunal for each department. Into the last, the English institution of a jury was introduced. France was divided into eighty-three departments, sub-divided into districts, cantons and communes, and administered by citizens elected by the "active" citizens. It was a decentralized administration. The taxes of former days were replaced by "contributions," direct and indirect.

Under the influence of Jansenist deputies and to bring back the clergy to the simplicity of the primitive church, the Constituent Assembly voted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which separated the Church of France from the Papacy (12 July, 1790). Half the parish clergy and seven bishops only, accepted the reform: these were known as the jurors, "constitutionals" or section under oath; the others were the non-jurors or "refractories." The Pope condemned the Civil Constitution in two letters of 10th March and 13th April, 1791. In several places a real religious war was declared which the non-conforming Catholics kept up, in anticipation of a complete counter-revolution. It was specially violent in Vivarais and the Cevennes. Thus the Civil Constitution had considerable importance, in that it made the majority of the clergy implacable enemies of the Revolution.

Later on we shall speak of the pacific and humanitarian ideals of the Constituent Assembly. Its work of internal reorganization, far-reaching and reconstructing on a new basis almost the whole of Society, could not have been so

speedily carried out, in spite of the enthusiasm and valour of the deputies, had it not been for a century of preparation, and the determination of the people. The people, on several occasions, acted on the Assembly, which was on the whole middle-class and monarchic, flooding its feebler opinion with their purely democratic spirit. But despite the revolutionary movements of the people, the Constituent Assembly did not keep all the promises made in the Declaration of Rights.

The Legislative Assembly—The Constitution of 1791 was to operate from October 1st, the day of the opening of the Legislative Assembly, which, in accordance with a decree of the Constituent Assembly, was composed only of new men. The primary elections had taken place before the flight to Varennes, the secondary after the fusillade of the Champ-de-Mars, at the moment when the Republican party was weak. To the right, the Constitutionals, or “Feuillants,” from the name of the Club to which all belonged—a hundred and sixty deputies,—carried on the tradition of the Monarchians and Constitutionals of the Constituent Assembly. In the Centre, the Independents—four hundred and fifty deputies—nominally backed the Constitution, but wavered and inclined to the Right, which numbered two hundred and fifty members in February, 1792. To the Left were a hundred and thirty-six Jacobins and “Cordeliers,” who, while accepting the monarchical Constitution, wished to reduce the royal power yet further. The warlike members of this group left it (the Jacobins standing for peace) over the question of war with Austria, and formed the group of the Girondins, named from the Department of the Gironde, which was represented by the Bordeaux lawyers Gensonné, Guadet and Vergniaud, the last-named being specially influential. The Girondins were also called Brissotins, after Brissot, the leader of the party, which included also the famous philosopher Condorcet, and

Isnard. Outside the Assembly, they gathered together round Mme. Roland, a woman of superior intelligence and energy, and her husband, the economist, Roland de la Platière. To the extreme left, were found some future Conventionals; among them, Cambon, Carnot, and Couthon. The Jacobins were strongly organized all over France, and with the mother-society in Paris, formed a centralized State within the decentralized State. Robespierre became their most popular orator. The Clubs of the Feuillants and the Cordeliers were also much frequented.

New Conflict between the King and the Nation—The increasingly numerous emigrants, at Coblenz and Worms, had proclaimed the Count of Provence Regent, for they considered Louis XVI a prisoner; and urged foreign sovereigns to intervene against the French rebels. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette corresponded secretly with them and with the Emperor and the King of Prussia. In the early days of September there arrived in Paris the Declaration of Pilnitz, published on August 27th by the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, urged by the King's brothers; they declared themselves ready for a joint intervention if all the sovereigns of Europe united with them. In spite of this restriction, which rendered it futile, the Declaration enraged the nation against the emigrants, and against the King, whom they suspected of intrigue. At the same time, the refractory priests, markedly in the West, kept up a more and more violent disturbance in the country. To ward off all these dangers, the Legislative Assembly issued three decrees (31 October–29 November):—(i) Against the Count of Provence, who was summoned to come back to France; (ii) Against the emigrants, declared “suspected of plotting against the Fatherland” unless they returned before January 1st, 1792; (iii) Against the refractory priests, who were called to take oath to uphold the Civil Constitution, under

pain of being treated as "suspects." The King opposed his veto of suspension to these decrees. The Court, now driven to "ride for a fall," supported the Jacobin, Pétion, against the Constitutional, La Fayette, in the election for the Mayoralty in Paris, and wished for a war that should fail; many Feuillants thought like the Court. The Brissotins also wished it, as propaganda for liberty, and still more, as a proof which would unmask the perfidy of Louis XVI. Robespierre alone, with admirable perseverance, did not cease to struggle against the general excitement; to the Girondins—who excused their war fervour under the pretext that this national and liberating war would not be like any that had preceded it—he demonstrated the inevitable evils which would result and foresaw the dictatorship of a victorious general. On March 12th, 1792, the King formed a Girondist Ministry; Roland was Minister of the Interior, Servan at the War Office, Clavière, Minister of Finance, and Dumouriez, of Foreign Affairs; on April 20th, war was declared. Repeated checks having brought about fear of invasion, the Legislative Assembly again issued three decrees:—the banishment of refractory priests; the disbanding of the King's guard; and the formation in Paris of a camp of twenty thousand federate troops. The King refused to sanction the first and the third and dissolved the Girondist Ministry (12 June). The excitement increased.

Downfall of Royalty—To force the King to yield, the Jacobins organized a great popular demonstration. On June 20th, the people presented a petition to the Assembly and then invaded the Tuileries, and armed processions passed for three hours before the King to the cry, "Down with Monsieur Veto," forced humiliations upon him, and threatened him. He was capped with the "bonnet rouge" and obliged to drink to the health of the nation; but he kept firmly to his veto. The "Day of June 20th" roused protests in the Assembly and the country, and the

constitutional bourgeoisie rallied to the King. The imminence of a Prussian invasion decided the Assembly to declare "the Country in danger" (11 July). In spite of the royal veto, the federates had been called up in Paris since July 2nd. Their arrival, and that of five hundred Marseilles volunteers, who entered the town singing a new war-song, the "Marseillaise" (19 July), the exasperation caused by the insolent manifesto of Brunswick, chief of the Prussian army, which was about to invade France—all these circumstances made an opening for violent measures. The popular groups demanded, in a petition, the downfall of the King and organized themselves for an insurrection. In the night of the 9th–10th August, while Mandat, Commandant of the National Guard, and Roederer, Syndic, Attorney-General of the Seine, were preparing the defence at the Tuileries, an insurrectional Commune, of which Danton was the most active personality, established itself at the Town Hall, and had the tocsin sounded. On the 10th at 6 o'clock in the morning, the royal family took refuge with the Assembly. Almost at once the battle began at the Tuileries between the insurgent army, Marseillais, federates and workmen of the Faubourgs, and the King's Swiss Guards, to the number of nine hundred only. The National Guards went over to the insurgents. After a murderous struggle, the palace was forced and sacked, but any one found stealing was executed. The day of August 10th marks the end of the attempt at Constitutional monarchy. The royal family were interned in the Luxembourg, then imprisoned in the Temple.

The September Massacres—Under pressure from the people in arms, the Legislative declared the King suspended and decided to call a Convention,—the name then given to the Constituent Assembly, and named a Provisional Executive Council of six, i.e. Danton and the Girondins Roland, Servan, Clavière, Monge, and Lebrun.

But the Jacobins, who directed the Commune, were masters of the situation. Exercising a Dictatorship, the Commune had thousands of suspected people imprisoned. The news of the surrender of Longwy and of Verdun ; the dramatic measures of the Commune, who had the alarm-bell sounded and cannon fired (2 September) ; the rumours of treason and conspiracy which circulated after General La Fayette had fled to the Austrian camp (19 August), led to a general frenzy. The Commune's Committee of Surveillance, to which Marat belonged, prepared to slaughter "suspects" from August 31st ; at the same time it encouraged the people to put to death enemies within the country before hurrying to the frontier. For four days and four nights (2nd-5th September), bands of paid butchers, in all about three hundred, entering the Abbaye, Carmes, Force, Salpêtrière, Bicêtre, and other prisons, massacred eleven hundred persons detained there ; the same excesses in the provinces cost about a hundred their lives. The Parisian people, who had not taken part in the massacres, turned against them after September 5th. The responsibility for these days of horror lies on the Paris Commune ; they may have thought the deeds necessary, but thereby several principles of the Revolution were hideously violated. The Girondists, shocked, detached themselves definitely from the Jacobins who had done nothing to check the "Septembrists." On September 20th, 1792, the day of the victory at Valmy, the Legislative gave place to the National Convention.

B. THE REPUBLIC. (CONVENTION AND DIRECTORY.)

The Convention—The elections to the Convention made by all Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age and over, had the appearance of universal suffrage. Only one-tenth of those on the list took part in the voting ; but

these were mostly former "passive" citizens, thus the Convention was more democratic than the Assemblies which preceded it. Out of nine hundred and three members of the Convention, only seven hundred and seventy-eight had seats before June 2nd, 1793. To the right were a hundred and sixty Girondists. Over and above the leading Girondist group of the Legislative, re-elected entire, the party had as leaders two former Constituents, Buzot and Lanjuinais, Pétion, the former Mayor of Paris, and a young Marseilles lawyer, Barbaroux. To the left, the "Montagne" ¹ consisted of two hundred deputies, and had as leaders Robespierre, Danton and Marat, all three Paris deputies. After them, the most influential were Camille Desmoulins, Barère, an opportunist, Hérault de Séchelles, Merlin de Douai, and Merlin de Thionville, Saint-Just, an orator of twenty-three years of age, Couthon, Collot d'Herbois, a former actor, Billaud-Varennes and Fouché, two unfrocked Oratorians; and, finally, Cambon and Lazare Carnot. In the centre were four hundred deputies—the "Plain" or the "Marsh"—who oscillated between Girondists and Montagnards. At first the Montagnards were not more Republican than the Girondists, from whom they were divided only on the question of the rôle of Paris in the State; the Girondists represented the departments, broadly speaking, and rejected the Dictatorship of the Paris Commune, which the Montagnards led by the deputations of the Seine and the Seine-et-Oise, accepted. Between the Brissotin Chiefs, attached to legal forms, however, and the chief Montagnards, for whom only public safety mattered, there were divergences of character which led speedily to dangerous enmities.

Struggle between Girondists and Montagnards—On September 21st, 1792, the Convention abolished royalty

¹ So called because many of its members occupied the highest seats in the hall.

without as yet openly declaring the Republic ; on the 25th it proclaimed the Republic, one and indivisible. It took in hand the King's trial prudently and methodically. After the discovery in a secret cupboard in the Tuileries of papers proving Louis XVI in alliance with the foreigner, not all the eloquence of his three defenders, Malesherbes, Tronchet and de Sèze, could save him. In spite of the efforts of the Girondists to submit the judgment of the Convention to ratification by the people, Louis XVI was condemned in a vote taken on the last proposition of the Girondists for a *sursis*, or suspension of justice, by three hundred and eighty votes against three hundred and ten (20 January, 1793) and executed the next day on the Place of the Revolution. During his trial and on the scaffold he showed a courage worthy of all praise.

The King's execution served as a pretext for a European coalition against France and for a serious rising in the Catholic Vendée. Against enemies within and without, the Montagnards persuaded the Girondists to take revolutionary measures : a Committee of General Security, a levy of 300,000 men (24 February) ; a Revolutionary Tribunal (10 March) ; and a Committee of Public Safety (6 April), of which Danton was at first the head. Towards the end of April, the struggle between the two parties was intensified. The Girondists decreed the arrest of Marat ; acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal, his return to the Convention was a triumph (24 April). Then the Girondists who, thanks to the " Plain," were a majority, had a Committee of twelve nominated to examine into the acts of the Commune, of which the Attorney-General, Hébert, was arrested. But since the death of Louis XVI, they were accused by the Montagnards of having wished to save the King, and of planning the division of France into a number of autonomous Republics (i.e. federalism) ; and, finally, the treason of General Dumouriez (5 April) ruined their prestige. At

times, these passionate contentions vaguely defined themselves as a class struggle, bourgeois against populace, although the Girondists were not more allied to the bourgeois than were the Montagnards ; one may say, at least, that they were caused, politically, by a difference of intensity in republicanism. Danton tried in vain to conciliate the adversaries. To free itself from the Girondists, the Commune, with the help of Montagnard extremists, organized a riot. On May 31st, the Convention was surrounded by an army commanded by Hanriot, a devotee of Robespierre's, and had to suppress the Committee of Twelve. On June 2nd, eighty thousand men, with sixty cannon, invested the Assembly, which was sitting in the Tuileries, and forced it under threat of firing, to decree the exclusion of twenty-nine members, amongst whom were all the chief Girondists ; the Girondist influence was ruined. Girondist insurrections broke out in the Departments ; to appease them the Convention voted (11th-24th June) the Constitution of the Year I, in which decentralization was complete, and Paris was deprived of all means of action with regard to the Provinces ; but, faced with the peril of foreign invasions, it adjourned the putting of this into force, and, aided by the revolutionary Government, exercised a Dictatorship.

The Revolutionary Government—The Committee of Public Safety, composed of twelve Conventionals, elected for one month, but indefinitely re-eligible, was, after the fall of the Girondists, directed by Robespierre, and took all power into its hands ; Carnot for War, Jeanbon-Saint André for the Navy ; Cambon for Finance ; Barère for Foreign Affairs, were the most active members ; and its composition varied little. It made use of the Committee of General Security and of the Revolutionary Committees of each Commune, to watch over suspected persons ; and of the Revolutionary Tribunal, of which the cruel Public Prosecutor Fouquier-Tinville was a member, to condemn

them. It sent representatives into the provinces and the armies, charged with full powers to execute its wishes. The Popular Societies—the former Jacobins—collaborated everywhere in the work of the Committee of Public Safety. The revolutionary Government passed a series of “measures of Public Safety,” which it judged to be necessitated by the gravity of the situation, home and foreign; this was the Terror. The Convention decreed a levy *en masse* (16 August); a forced loan from the rich of one milliard francs (28 August); the law of “suspects,” which ordered the arrest of “all those who, having done nothing against liberty, have nevertheless done nothing for it” (17 September); and the law of the maximum, which taxed staple food-stuffs (27 September). At one and the same time the government wished to discourage its opponents by fear, and to whip up the energy of patriots. Marie Antoinette now perished on the scaffold, and many another:—Bailly, the ex-Duke of Orleans, Philip-Égalité, Mme. Roland and the Girondists (October–November, 1793). In the provinces also the batches of condemned increased, and certain of the commissioners proceeded to horrible mass executions, like Lebon at Arras and Carrier at Nantes.

Dictatorship of Robespierre—When the danger had been exorcised, internally and externally, the reign of Terror lasted on at the will of Robespierre. Rejoicing in the name of “Incorruptible,” and very popular for the sternness of his principles, the austerity of his life, and his sincere attachment to the cause of the people, he dreamt of freeing the Republic from all the elements he considered impure and of setting up the reign of “Virtue.” After Marat had been stabbed by Charlotte Corday (13 July), and Danton discredited through his policy of union, Robespierre remained master. The party of the Indulgents, with Danton, Desmoulins, Hérault de Séchelles and Fabre d’Eglantine, demanded the end of the Terror.

On the other hand, the "Enraged" group—Hébert, Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz—wanted it intensified; these were violently anti-Catholic, and wished to de-Christianize France and take away the Churches from the priests in order to set up in them the worship of Reason. Robespierre, who, as a deist disciple of Rousseau, was an enemy to atheism, sent the "Enraged" group to the scaffold (24 March, 1794); being jealous of Danton, he consigned him and his friends to the same fate, after a parody of a trial (5 April). Thenceforth Robespierre's Dictatorship was unimpeded. He wished to make the worship of the Supreme Being a State religion, and on June 8th presided at a fête to establish it. In order the more easily to crush those who began to jeer at his new incarnation as Pontiff and Dictator, Robespierre had the law of the 22nd Prairial ¹ (10 June) passed, which deprived the accused of all right of defence before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Thereafter, in forty-nine days there were one thousand three hundred and seventy-six executions, among them Lavoisier, André Chénier and Malesherbes. This was the Great Terror, of which the victory of Fleurus (26 June) showed the uselessness. Yet several Conventionals, some Terrorists, like Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, others more moderate, like Tallien and Fouché, felt they were in Robespierre's black book. Emboldened by fear and having on the 9th Thermidor (27 July) recruited from the "Marsh" an anti-Robespierre majority, they succeeded in getting it to decree his arrest, as well as that of his brother, and his friends, Couthon, Saint-Just and Le Bas. The Commune, which

¹ One of the months of the Republican year, which contained 12 months of 30 days and 5 or 6 supernumerary days, or "Sansculottides." The Republican Calendar, adopted by the Convention on October 5th, 1793, ran from September 22nd, 1792 (1 Vendémiaire Year I), and was used till January 1st, 1806, when the Gregorian Calendar was restored.

was devoted to him, might still have saved him ; but it made the mistake of snatching him from the Luxembourg ; they were all put outside the pale of the law and beheaded (28 July).

The Thermidorian Reaction—In the coalition which had deposed Robespierre, the moderates were in the majority, and the Thermidor reaction put an end to the Terror. The Convention softened or suppressed the greater part of the revolutionary measures, and recalled to its ranks the surviving Girondists and Dantonists. Fouquier-Tinville and Carrier were condemned to death. At the same time a royalist party was formed among the bourgeois and "elegant" youth, the "Jeunesse Dorée" ; the Parisian workmen were irritated by the insolence of this reaction and by lack of food, which they believed to be caused by these royalist young "bucks." They rebelled and invaded the Convention on the 12th Germinal (1 April, 1795), demanding bread and the Constitution of 1793, and again on the 1 Prairial (20 May) ; during this second day, the insurgents succeeded, with the aid of the last Montagnards, in getting a vote passed to restore the Constitution of 1793, but, for the first time in politics, the army intervened, and ended the insurrection. After each of these revolts the reactionaries in the Convention took advantage of them to expel the workmen from the sections and the militias, and to execute or deport the former Terrorists. The royalists, encouraged, organized a White Terror ; in the South, former Jacobins were massacred by the "Companions of Jesus," a name adopted by the reactionary bands. An attempt of Emigrants to land on the coast of Brittany was frustrated by Hoche (22 July). The Convention then voted the constitution of Year III, but ruined the hopes of the Royalists by deciding by the Decrees of the Deux Tiers (two-thirds) (22nd-30th August) that two-thirds of the future representatives of the nation should be chosen from among

its members and by itself. Disappointed, the royalists attempted to use force against the Convention on 13th Vendémiaire (5 October, 1795), an effort which General Bonaparte suppressed. The Convention broke up on October 26th.

The Work of the Convention—Besides the drawing-up of the two Constitutions, of which one—that of Year I, was never put into practice ; the work of National Defence which culminated in the Treaties of Basle ; and the pacification of the Interior, the Convention had founded some great institutions. It created the “Great Book of Public Debt,” which was to inscribe all the State debts converted into 5 per cent. Stock ; it continued the drawing-up of the Civil Code ; established uniformity of weights and measures by the metric system, and occupied itself specially with public instruction. It decreed primary education to be obligatory and free. For secondary education it founded “Central Schools” ; and for advanced education, large schools like the Normal School and Polytechnic School. It favoured scientific work by founding the Natural History Museum, the College of France and the Bureau of the Longitudes. For artists the Museum of Louvre and the Conservatoire of Music were opened ; while the Institute (24 October, 1795) was intended to become “the representative body of the scholastic world.”

Some of these reforms, for want of time or money, could not be put in practice by the Convention ; others were left unfinished. For the life of this Assembly was a pathetic contradiction of poverty and grandeur. Among its members were wild geniuses, animated by high and disinterested ideals for the regeneration of humanity ; also ambitious and bloodthirsty maniacs ; while certain members like Robespierre and Marat appear to have been both. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in a stormy atmosphere of vindictiveness and passion, and

in the midst of the hatred of parties, the Convention in three tragically tormented years had accomplished a colossal task, by sheer force of energy and audacity.

The Directoire—The government of the Directoire was organized by the bourgeois Constitution of Year III, which the Thermidorians had substituted for the democratic Constitution of 1793. The Executive power was entrusted to five Directors, the Legislation to a "Council of the Ancients" and to that of the "Five Hundred"; and in opposition to the Constitutions of 1791 and 1793, the administration was strongly centralized. Universal suffrage had been suppressed under the influence of the reactionaries; the electoral system was based on a qualification tax and in two stages. The moderate republicans of the Directoire found themselves face to face with great difficulties; externally, the continuance of the war; internally,—struggles against the extreme parties, royalist and Jacobin; financial difficulties due to the discredit of paper-money, which increased the penury of the Treasury, and in private life, a perfect rage of licentiousness and speculation which recalled the time of the Regency.

Baboeuf Introduces Collectivism into Politics—The former Jacobins, seeing the progress of reaction and desertion of democratic principles, took to meeting in a society, the Panthéon Club, which demanded the Constitution of 1793. One of their leaders, the journalist, Gracchus Baboeuf, was an advocate of collectivism. In his paper, "The Tribune of the People," he demanded the suppression of individual property, and on December 21st, 1795, wrote:—"The fruits of the earth are for all and the earth for no one." In a society founded on solidarity, common happiness would be realized by equality of resources, and equality would be strengthened by a common education. Baboeuf's originality lies in his being the first to attempt to realize communism by a

social revolution ; but the secret organization of his followers, who consisted of malcontents of all sorts of opinions, was suspected by the Directory and denounced, through treachery, in May, 1796. Baboeuf, and his supporter Darthé, condemned to death by the High Court at Vendôme, were executed on May 27th, 1797. This is the first appearance in politics of communism, till then a philosophic dream. Meanwhile, a police plot, "The Affair of Grenelle Camp," had given the government the opportunity of leading the Jacobins into a trap where twenty were massacred, and of passing ninety sentences, of which thirty-three were capital punishment (September–November, 1796).

Bonaparte Overthrows the Republic—In 1797, the elections went in favour of the royalists, supported by the refractory clergy ; they had the revolutionary laws abrogated and prepared to overthrow the Directoire, which defended itself with the help of the army. On 18th Fructidor (4 September, 1797), twelve thousand men surrounded the Tuileries, the elections in forty-nine Departments were annulled and the royalist party crushed ; but in 1798 the elections went in favour of the democrats, and on 22nd Floréal, Year VI (11 May, 1798), the Directors renewed the Fructidor coup d'état, and annulled the elections of sixty Montagnards.

Financial distress had forced the Directoire to take extreme measures ; "territorial notes" in paper-coinage replaced the "assignats,"—but were soon depreciated ; and by the (so-called) bankruptcy of the Deux Tiers, these served to pay off two-thirds of the Public Debt, of which one-third only was to appear in the Great Book of the Debt (September, 1797). In 1798 a new tax was levied called the door-and-window tax. The bourgeoisie separated from the Directoire ; altogether, disgust for politics, scorn for politicians, and the faults of the Constitution now revealed, caused desire for its revision. At the same

time, the scandal over the luxury and the morals of Barras, the chief Director, reflected on all the order. Siéyès, chief of the revisionists, elected Director in May, 1799, had three of his colleagues removed from office (18 June, 1799) and to make the coup d'état a success by the aid of a popular General, recalled Bonaparte from Egypt. The defeats of the French army in Italy instigated a revival of the Terror ; a forced loan was voted, and a law of hostages against the relations of royalist rebels (July). In October, 1799, Bonaparte was welcomed in France with the enthusiasm his victories and the cleverness of his political attitude justified for him ; he posed as a citizen, not as a soldier, and was taken for a Washington, not for a Cæsar. With Siéyès he prepared the coup d'état most minutely. On the 18th Brumaire, under the pretext of a Jacobin conspiracy, the Ancients, of whom the majority were accomplices, decreed the transfer of the two Councils to Saint-Cloud and named Bonaparte Commandant of the Paris garrison. On the 19th, Lucien Bonaparte, President of the Five-Hundred, persuaded the grenadiers to expel the Five-Hundred, who were hostile to his brother. The Directoire was abolished, and replaced by three Consuls, charged with remodelling the Constitution. Thus ended the Republic (10 November, 1799).

The Coup d'État was immensely popular. Bonaparte's masterly attitude ; the weariness of public opinion, which, after years of agitation and intense political life, longed for order ; the general disparagement of the Directoire, which was supported by no party, and which had, by its coups d'état of Fructidor and Floréal, itself ruined the Constitution, might be sufficient explanation of this popularity. We must now, however, add to this, that the chief cause of this acceptance was the war which had lasted since 1792 ; first, it forced the revolutionary government to abjure provisionally the

principles of liberty, to exercise dictatorship which prepared the French to submit to that of Bonaparte. Further, in 1792, "patriotism" signified love of liberty, in 1799, love of conquests. It was owing to the corruption of the national sentiment by war, that a victorious General was able to become master of France, which had just been through ten years' struggle to win her freedom.

What the People had Gained from the Revolution—Napoleon, however, and the governments which followed him, had to respect certain of the results of the shocks of revolution. The transformation of society was deep and lasting, though limited.

In conformity with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Protestants recovered their confiscated possessions, and the right of French nationality was granted again to descendants of the Calvinist emigrants. Jews were to be citizens. A child was emancipated from paternal tutelage at the age of twenty-one years; the right of primogeniture was abolished, civil marriage was introduced, and divorce admitted. Penal legislation was the same for all; corporal punishment and torture were given up. We have seen that on the night of August 4th, 1789, the Constituent Assembly abolished all privileges and sale of offices. All Frenchmen were equally eligible for public functions. Since the Middle Ages the peasant had struggled with inexhaustible perseverance to acquire the land; the Revolution rewarded this age-long effort by giving him the right to acquire national land-property at a very low price.

In fact, if the Declaration and the consequences of its principles had been wholly and loyally carried out, France would in a few years have passed from absolutism and feudalism to a true democracy. The best of the Conventionals,—democrats with socialist tendencies—had not the time to do it, and, more especially, to base it on the solid education of the people. "An ignorant people

cannot be free " ; these liberties, as we have seen, risked being compromised almost as soon as made, first by reaction, and then by war. After Thermidor, the controlling bourgeoisie only applied the new principles up to the point at which they began to injure their own interests. New social distinctions founded on fortune, and already dormant in the society of the eighteenth century, developed rapidly if furtively. They had been legalized since 1795 in the Constitution of Year III which, by establishing the limited, copyhold suffrage violated the principle of equality and prepared the way for a plutocracy ; the final advent of which was only delayed by the Napoleonic dictatorship.

Pacific Ideal of the French in 1789—The French Revolution had been instinctively welcomed with joy by the people at large. In Germany Kant, Fichte, Humboldt and Klopstock ; in England Priestley, Wordsworth, and Mackintosh, in spite of the hostility of Burke and the Tories, communicated to their fellow-citizens a quasi-mystic enthusiasm for the events in France. The sovereigns, who were preparing for a second dismembering of Poland, rejoiced to see France paralysed. As for the French, they were animated by that pacific spirit whose apparition amongst them we noted at the close of the old régime. For all, as for Mirabeau, the tricolour flag was not " the emblem of battle and victory, but that of the holy fraternity of the friends of liberty throughout the earth." Aspiring to a universal peace, they gloried in expressing their ideal at a time when Europe was the scene of all sorts of conquests and traffic of territories. This state of mind expressed itself in the decree of May 22nd, 1790 :—" The National Assembly declares that the French Nation renounces the undertaking of any war of conquest, and will never employ its forces against the liberty of any people."

The War Makes them Stage by Stage Imperialist—

The revolutionaries, however, had inevitably to cast about for propaganda ; since liberty knows no frontiers. At first the spread of their ideas came of itself, spontaneously. Then they considered if they should repulse unsympathetically brother-peoples who had risen in the name of the same principles as themselves ; and when the County of Avignon, then subject to the Pope, rose and demanded reunion with France, the Constituent Assembly voted annexation (September, 1790) and sent troops to Avignon to restore order ; despite the excuse of a plebiscite in favour of reunion, this was the first departure from the solemn promise of May. Next, the intrigues and arming of the Emigrants, and the provocative attitude of foreign rulers, who on their side began to be uneasy for their thrones, exasperated the " patriots " ; they wished " to make war on Kings for the emancipation of peoples." War was declared on the Emperor of Austria " in defence of the liberty and independence of the French nation " on April 20th, 1792. Prussia joined Austria ; invasion was stayed at Valmy by Dumouriez (20 September, 1792) and then the victorious French army occupied Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, Savoy and the County of Nice. These early conquests and the execution of Louis XVI, spurred the Powers, at the beginning of 1793, into the formation of the First Coalition, which, in addition to Prussia and Austria, was joined by England, Holland, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples. At first victorious, these allies invaded the country a second time ; but it was saved by the energetic measures of the Convention. In 1794, after the victory of Fleurus, Jourdan again conquered Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine ; Holland was occupied by Pichegru. Prussia, Spain and Holland made peace by the Treaties of Basle and the Hague (April-May, 1795) ; the possession of the left bank of the Rhine and the mouths of the Scheldt by France was recognized ; Holland

became the Republic of Batavia ; Austria and England continued the struggle. The first revolutionary armies, composed for the most part of young, untried volunteers, had carried all before them by their dash and enthusiasm and by the moral force of their disinterested patriotism, as well as by the gifts of their commander. Soon the young republican soldiers became professional fighters, more devoted to their leaders than to the Republic. The war, which in 1792 was carried on without national animosity, had sunk deep in 1795 into the soul of the peoples. Bonaparte had then but to found his popularity by his triumphal campaign in Italy (1796-7), and all was prepared for his Cæsarian dictatorship. Thus did wars bring forth hatreds between peoples, and spell ruin to liberty.

Let us rapidly look through the variations in the aim of this war. The first campaign (1792) was the conflict of a free people with monarchic and feudal countries ; between the new and the old Europe. But revolutionary France wished to bear aid to the oppressed nations who called to her, to unite them, if they wished it, to herself. The rulers dispossessed or endangered by these ideas, allied against them. Then their peril, and the greatness of the stake, roused the war-spirit in the French ; step by step war embittered national sentiment, and stirred hatreds. The " Conventionals " soon began to toy with the old dream of natural frontiers : the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, the Ocean. War was no longer made to defend the country or sow the seed of freedom, but to " lay the foundations of French greatness " (Danton), that is to say, to make and consolidate conquests.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DICTATORSHIP OF NAPOLEON AND THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Bonaparte Followed by the Nation—It is not a retractation of the principles which have made us keep out of this history the feats of arms up to now considered glorious, to speak shortly of the Napoleonic Wars ; for their effects stretched far beyond his reign, and even our generation has suffered from the violent repercussion. It must also be confessed, alas ! that the wars could not have been made by the will of the conquerors alone, in whose praise most historical accounts of them are written. These were only partly responsible for the sanguinary work that made them illustrious, and would be nothing without the army that was content to follow them. In the case of Napoleon, let us confess with shame, it was not even an army that he drew in his wake, but a people. After each revolution or each war France, wearied, let herself be easily seduced by those who promised, without guarantee, to bring order out of confusion ; order in the hands of one man is dictatorship ; and dictatorship is strengthened and maintained only by military force. Now, if one sets aside his political adversaries,—who in his place would have employed the same means as he,—the opposition to Napoleon's warlike enterprises was nil. Granted this state of affairs, one cannot, in a true history, avoid reference to the Napoleonic campaigns. The

Revolution had also drawn the sword, but it was at first to defend her existence against the allied princes. She declared "war on Kings and peace to the nations." The contagion of freedom was so great, that they gave themselves up to her, in order to be free. On the other hand, the foundation under the influence of Bonaparte of "sister republics" marked the first irreparable mistake, the first of the cases of brutal conquests, which for almost twenty years made France the enemy of humanity.

Rise of Napoleon—The military career of Bonaparte began with the Italian campaign, which he ended by imposing on Austria the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). It was continued by the campaign in Egypt (1798–1799), undertaken by him to hinder England's trade with the Levant and with India and during which the Second Coalition was formed. This consisted of England, Russia, Austria, Turkey and the Princes dispossessed through the policy of the Directoire inspired by Napoleon. He left Egypt, and overthrew the Directoire on 18th Brumaire, Year VIII (19 November, 1799) and had himself nominated First Consul with all the executive power. Next to him were two Consuls who had only deliberative power; under this administration the Council of State prepared the laws that the Tribunate discussed, and that the Legislative Body voted or rejected. The Senate was the guardian of the Constitution. Bonaparte took over the military command in Italy, where he crushed the Austrians at Marengo. Peace was signed at Lunéville (1801), and Austria recognized the vassal Republics created by the French armies in Italy. The Peace of Amiens (1802) with England, sanctioned the aggrandizements of France, but France agreed to evacuate Egypt.

On May 18th, 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor under the name of Napoleon; his wife, Josephine de Beauharnais was Empress. Pope Pius VII consecrated him on December 2nd of the same year at

Notre Dame in Paris. Napoleon now prepared to invade England, whereupon the latter formed with Austria and Russia the Third Coalition. He entered Vienna, and after the victory of Austerlitz (2 December, 1805) Austria had to submit to the Peace of Pressburg (December, 1805); the Emperor of Austria gave up his Italian possessions to France, and thus ended the German Empire, which was replaced by the Rhine Confederation of which Napoleon was "protector," and in reality, master. The same year, the French Admiral Villeneuve suffered naval defeat at Trafalgar. In 1806, Prussia united with England and Russia in the Fourth Coalition, which was necessitated by the action of Napoleon in giving the Kingdom of Holland to his brother Louis, that of Naples to his brother Joseph, and the Duchy of Berg in Westphalia to his brother-in-law Murat. Napoleon beat Prussia at Jena (1806), and Russia at Eylau and Friedland (1807). The Peace of Tilsitt (1807) gave Westphalia to Jerome, Napoleon's brother, who became its King, and left to the King of Prussia only his estates beyond the Elbe; a Grand Duchy of Warsaw was constituted and allotted to the Duke of Saxony, who took the title of King. Russia and Prussia agreed to close their ports to England, and the Continental blockade, aimed at destroying English commerce, was decreed at Berlin in 1806. In 1807, Napoleon, who no longer hesitated before any arbitrary act, seized Portugal. The Pope not having submitted to the Continental blockade, Napoleon had him removed from Rome and taken to Savona in Italy, then to Fontainebleau, where he remained a prisoner till 1813. Being chosen as arbitrator between Charles IV, King of Spain, and his son, in a quarrel between them, the Emperor forced them to abdicate and gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph, whom he had before made King of Naples; it is clear he had the art of turning his victories to family account. But the Spaniards would

not accept a foreign King ; they revolted, Joseph had to leave Madrid (1808), and Napoleon had to intervene to save him his throne. The Spaniards, however, remained unsubdued in their struggle for independence ; the insurgent town of Saragossa stood a siege for eight months (1808-9) and this costly war went on without results.

The Climax—England headed the Fifth Coalition, which included also Austria, Spain and Portugal (1809). Napoleon conquered the Austrians at Essling, and at Wagram, and the Emperor Francis II was obliged by the Treaty of Vienna (1809) to cede the Illyrian Provinces to France, part of Galicia to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and part to the Tsar. In 1809 also, Napoleon confiscated the States of the Pope and in 1810 he annexed Holland. His pride no longer had any bounds ; his wife Josephine not having given him children, with the desire to found a dynasty he divorced her and married the Archduchess of Austria, Marie Louise (1 April, 1810). On March 20th, 1811, was born the " King of Rome," destined never to reign.

The French Empire then comprised, in addition to France proper, Belgium, Holland, the Rhine Provinces, Germany up to the Elbe, the whole of Italy, Spain, and the Swiss Confederation, all either as annexed territories or as vassal States. With the seven Illyrian Provinces it stretched from the Baltic to the confines of Turkey, forming an immense crescent. But this overwhelming success of the cynical disregard of rights could not last ; the rupture with Russia in 1812, marked the beginning of Napoleon's decline.

The Fall—He invaded Russia, achieved with difficulty the victory of the Moskowa, and entered Moscow, which he then had to evacuate because of the burning of the town by patriots. Napoleon was forced into retreat by the severe winter of 1812, which killed many of his

soldiers and disorganized the "Grand Army." On the defeat of the tyrant of Europe, all whom he had conquered rose, and Prussia gave the signal of revolt. Napoleon, having reached France, reconstituted an army and pushed into Germany, where he won the victories of Lutzen, Bautzen and Dresden, but received a check at the Battle of Leipzig (known as the Battle of the Nations), and had to cross over again to the left bank of the Rhine (1813). At the same time the French troops were driven from Spain and King Joseph expelled. The Allies then proposed an advantageous peace to Napoleon, which he declined. In a proclamation announcing this refusal to the French, the Allies declared that they would take up war again, not against the people, but against Napoleon ; and the invasion of France began (1814). Napoleon won some victories, but could not stand out against numbers, and the Allies were able to march on Paris, which they took on March 31st, 1814. The Senate, who had cringed in the days of his omnipotence, deposed the Emperor, who, deserted by his Marshals, abdicated and retired to the Island of Elba, of which he received the sovereignty.

The Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI, ascended the throne as Louis XVIII. He signed with the Allies the Treaty of Paris (1814) which gave France back her frontiers of 1792 and granted a Charter ensuring constitutional laws to the Kingdom. The white flag was restored and the Emigrants rewarded. These measures, and others as insolent and tactless caused popular discontent and paved the way for Napoleon's return. He landed on March 1st, 1815, and arrived in Paris on March 20th. Louis XVIII had fled to Belgium ; but Napoleon was only to reign for the " Hundred Days." Although he declared for peace, and reduced the powers of imperial despotism by an Act supplementary to the Constitutions of the Empire, his return rekindled war, the coalition between England, Prussia, Austria and Russia being

renewed. Napoleon was beaten on June 18th, 1815, at the battle of Waterloo. The Chambers again forced him to abdicate ; he wished to give up the throne in favour of his son, but the Allies, once more in Paris, recalled Louis XVIII, and by the Second Treaty of Paris, only granted to France her frontiers of 1789. Napoleon asked hospitality of England ; she sent him to Saint Helena.

Under the Consulate : Administrative, Judiciary and Financial Organization—So far we have been occupied only with Napoleon's wars. But his administration of France shows that he was no ordinary conqueror ; this great warrior, so harmful to the whole of Europe, might have benefited his country by his remarkable endowment for peace. In dealing with this section of Napoleon's activities it is best to recall what he did under the Consulate, before speaking of imperial institutions and reforms ; but we shall not go back over the Consular Constitution ; enough has been said to show that it prepared for the Empire. The principle which inspired the administrative reorganization was that of centralization. The division of France into Departments, established by the Constituent Assembly, was maintained ; the districts they comprised were, as at the present day, known as " arrondissements " and the Communes were kept. The Consulate set the Prefect at the head of the Department ; the Sub-Prefect over the Arrondissement, and the Mayor over the Commune. Over and above the Council of the Prefecture, which had to settle differences between citizens and the administration, three deliberating bodies were set up : The General Council, attached to the Prefect ; the Council of the Arrondissement to the Sub-Prefect ; and the Municipal Council, chiefly for questions of finance and assessment of taxes, to the Mayor. This administrative system is still in force in France, as well as the judicial and financial organizations created by the Consular Government. The principle of

election was passed over, except for Justices of the Peace charged with deciding things of small importance; the other magistrates, as well as the departmental functionaries, were named by the executive power. All were irremovable. From the time of the Constituent Assembly, each Canton had a Justice of the Peace, each " Arrondissement " a court of claims. Above them Napoleon created courts of appeal, and at the head of all the Court of Cassation. The Consulate did not change anything in the administration of penal justice as organized by the Constituent Assembly; there were still simple Police Tribunals as a parallel to the Justices of the Peace, Courts of Correction as parallel to the Court of Claims, and Criminal Courts.

To counteract the disorder of the finances, Bonaparte founded the system of indirect taxation. The taxes were paid to collectors, who every month gave the money to the special Receiver for the Arrondissement, the receipts of which were in turn centralized by the Receiver-General for the Department. Besides this the Department had a Director of Direct Taxes and for each Arrondissement Controllers who drew up the roll and assessed the tax to be paid by each contributor. The public debt was fixed by law.

Other Institutions—The Consulate also left France the Civil Code. In it Bonaparte had gathered together the laws regulating society, a work already projected by the Constituent Assembly, the Convention and the Five Hundred. A Commission of six, belonging to all parties and of which Bonaparte was president, was charged with the elaboration of the Code. The Civil Code took its inspiration from Roman law, as well as from the customs and the royal ordinances of the old régime, and from the revolutionary laws. It was examined by the Courts, revised by the Council of State, submitted to the Tribunal and voted by the Legislative Body.

Knowing the taste of his compatriots for distinctive honours, Bonaparte founded the order of the Legion of Honour, a decoration which, unlike those of the old régime, could be won by men of all classes. It was a reward for civil as well as for military merit.

The Bankers, encouraged by the First Consul, founded the Bank of France, which issued the paper-money known as bank-notes. Bonaparte took an interest also in public education. If he neglected primary education, which should have provided instruction for the people, he was much concerned with secondary education, for the children of richer parents, and founded twenty-nine Lyceums, where Latin and Greek were the principal subjects taught. He made up to a very small degree for the effects of his partiality for the "bourgeoisie," by instituting *bourses*, or scholarships, which gave poor scholars of special ability a chance to study. In Higher Education, Bonaparte organized the Polytechnic School, and founded schools of medicine and law, as well as the School of "Highways and Bridges" and the School of the "Arts and Trades."

The Concordat—As regards religion, Bonaparte restored freedom of worship, to win over to his cause the moral force which the Church represented, and he recalled the refractory priests. A Concordat, signed with Pope Pius VII in July, 1801, recognized that the Catholic religion was that of the majority of the French people; while the Pope, on his side, sanctioned the forfeiture of the possessions of the clergy decreed by the Constituent Assembly. The Government ensured the free exercise of worship, paid its ministers and authorized donations in its favour. It was decided that the Bishops of France should be nominated by the Pope and by the French government, that the Pope should give them investiture, but that they should take the oath to the head of the State; the priests should be nominated by the Bishops

and passed by the government. This Concordat, voted by the Legislative Body, settled the relations between Church and State in France till 1905, the year in which it was denounced by the French Republic ; but Napoleon, without the agreement of the Holy See, added, by vote of the Legislative Body, the " Organic Articles," which affirmed that in France, no pontifical decision could be published and no ecclesiastical Assembly held without the authorization of the Government. The Pope never ceased from protesting against this official display of the Gallic spirit.

Under the Empire : Continuation of the Task of Civil Reform—All these reforms, these new institutions, in many points remarkably original, contained the dangerous element of being adaptable to the ambitious designs of one man, when they should only have tended to the public good. They prepared the way for Bonaparte, the First Consul, to become Consul for life in 1802, a necessary stage of transition before his elevation to Empire, which occurred two years later.

As Emperor, Napoleon continued his work of codification : he issued the Code of Civil Procedure (1806), the Code of Criminal Instruction and the Code of Commerce (1808), and the Penal Code (1810). In the Finances, he added indirect to direct taxation, an act which caused discontent among the French who often accept more willingly restrictions on their freedom than appeals to their purse. The imperial University was founded on March 17th, 1808, with the aim of teaching " fidelity to the Emperor and to the imperial monarchy, the depository of the people's happiness." Napoleon had realized that it was useful for him to control his subjects' minds, by forming them according to his plan by official education. The Grand-Master of the University directed primary, secondary and higher education. The University was divided, as at present, into Academies each with its own

Rector at the head ; it had the monopoly of instruction. Primary education was still neglected by the Emperor ; he entrusted it to the Friars of the Christian profession. Secondary education was given in the Lyceums ; all that might develop in the children a critical spirit was rejected, in the endeavour, above all, to form faithful subjects to the Emperor. Higher instruction was practical and prepared specialists in the different faculties. Napoleon extended it in 1808 by the Higher Normal School, which trained teachers. The Empire was much concerned with public works ; with the money of Europe, it constructed new roads and canals and developed ports. Paris was traversed by large, fine streets, and Napoleon adorned his capital with monuments after the antique, to perpetuate his glory ; the Vendôme column made of cannon taken from the enemy, the Carrousel Arc de Triomphe and that of the Étoile.

Poverty of the Intellectual Movements—Napoleon had suppressed freedom of thought and discussion, and exercised a mean and suspicious inquisition into the products of the intellect. Thus literature under his rule is marked by conventionality and is limited in amount. The only great authors of this period, Chateaubriand (1768–1848), romance-writer, historian, critic, traveller, the most famous of the precursors of romanticism, and Mme. de Staël, daughter of Necker, devoted to liberal ideas, and popularizer in France of foreign literatures, were both enemies of Napoleon and exiled by him. The Ancients did not inspire architecture only. The prodigious imperial epic seemed to evoke it ; thus painting exhibits the same influence and Louis David, the great painter of the Empire, did not attempt to escape from it. David, a protégé of Napoleon's, was the official painter, whose great historical works have left an imperial legend to posterity. After David, and amongst his pupils, Gros and Gérard must be mentioned, while Prud'hon, antique

in style but less cold in his harmonies, must not be omitted. In decoration, there was an Empire style, rich and solid, but heavy and lacking in distinction.

Napoleon always protected scholars; thus Science made great progress during his reign. Among the men who made it illustrious the most brilliant were the naturalist Cuvier, the mathematicians Monge and Laplace, the physicians Gay-Lussac and Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and the chemist Chaptal. Attempts were made at aeronautics; in 1805 Fulton made his first experiments with a steam-boat on the Seine, but their importance was not recognized.

Such a realist as Napoleon was not likely to fail to encourage industry. He gave it assistance in the case of Jacquard, the inventor of a method of weaving silk, and in the case of Richard and Lenoir who established forty wool and cotton-spinning centres in France, and Oberkampf who at Jouy developed the manufacture of magnificent painted cloths.

France Accepted the Napoleonic Despotism—It is clear that Napoleon knew how to exploit the intellectual and moral resources of the nation, in the same way as he used its material forces. He kept a firm hold on the minds as on the lives of his subjects; there was no longer any assurance of individual liberty, and Napoleon suppressed even freedom of thought, of writing and of commercial enterprise. The French easily allow themselves to be enchained, when they are told that higher interests require it. The coins struck with the sovereign's effigy bore the legend:—"French Republic, Napoleon Emperor." The French imagined they were living in a Republic because this inscription attested it. It is understandable that after the fall of a man so constantly obeyed, and followed even when he erred, those who had for so long been his victims distrusted the French people, and made them share the punishment of the faults of their former idol.

The Vienna Congress : Attempt to Re-establish European Equilibrium—The Congress of Vienna (October, 1814–June, 1815) set up again the European balance of power, disturbed by the inordinate ambition of Napoleon. According to its terms, no one of the great Powers, England, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia, might dominate Europe. The others, Germany and Italy, were divided into States ; the States of the Church were given back to the Pope ; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to a Habsburg and Naples to the Bourbons. Belgium and Holland formed the Kingdom of the Low Countries, and Switzerland a neutral confederation. Finland was separated from Sweden and made a Grand Duchy of Russia ; and Norway, taken from Denmark, was attached to Sweden for the creation of a United Kingdom. The fate of the Ottoman Empire was not settled, because every decision on this subject would have caused conflicts between the Great Powers. Only Spain and Portugal remained as they had been before the Treaty.

The great Powers pledged themselves to guarantee the territorial clauses of this Treaty. The Treaty of Vienna might have been a work of justice and reparation, as opposed to the criminal enterprises of Napoleon, if the peoples, of whose fate the great Powers were disposing, had been consulted ; but if they talked of this famous peoples' right in order to gain the victory, which was won as a fact by world-wide indignation—it was forthwith forgotten, and it may even be said that it was against this right that the representatives concluded the Treaty. They were concerned less to give an equitable settlement to Europe than to fortify the spirit of autocracy against attempts at enfranchisement. It was, indeed, the excess of this preoccupation which saved France, for at first there was some question of keeping her out of the deliberations at Vienna, and of placing before her the accomplished fact of violence in her dismemberment ; but it

was feared to weaken the prestige of Louis XVIII and to throw France into a new revolution which might spread to Europe.

The Contracting Parties Seek Above All to Put Down every Democratic Movement in Europe—Prince de Talleyrand, whose wit was only equalled by his cleverness and want of scruple, was therefore admitted to the Conference as Louis XVIII's representative. He knew how to hold his own for France by using the jealousies of the Allies, who were all uneasy as to the spoils their neighbours would allot to themselves. In order to succeed he always posed as a disinterested party and a champion of right, and this attitude won for him the sympathy of the small powers whom the great were trying to crush. Amongst the Allies, who dreamt only of the satisfaction of their opposing appetites, the mystic, Tsar Alexander, came as arbitrator,—he who desired the peace of Europe.

It is to him that France owes her escape from dismemberment. Whilst the Germans had proposed to establish a desert zone between their country and France, the Chancellor of Austria, Metternich, whose actions had such weight in the decisions of the Congress, upheld the narrowest principles of absolute monarchy. He renewed the agreement between the Allies, always easy to establish against France; to this end he exhorted in favour of a reaffirming of the alliance to fight the liberal ideas in this country, which had been born and might reappear after the departure of Napoleon. He obtained from the Allies a pact which obliged them to come to the aid of sovereigns whose absolute power should be attacked.

Treaty of the Holy Alliance—This practical action had followed a most exalted profession of religious faith, which Alexander had drawn up and which was named the Treaty of the Holy Alliance. The occupation of Paris by the Allies did not mark the end of interference in the affairs of France.

This pact was not signed either by the Pope, whose Catholic scruples in this matter are comprehensible, nor by England, who was restrained by her Liberal tradition, and whose government would perhaps not have been displeased to see the chief peoples of the Continent in revolt, although she had profited by the Treaty of Vienna to add considerably to her maritime and colonial power. It was decided that the Allies should prevent the French from expelling the Bourbons again, and that their Ambassadors should meet each week in Paris to survey French politics and to advise the Government.

The Allies Evacuate France—The indemnity fixed by the Allies having been paid by France, she demanded the evacuation of her territory, which was granted by the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) ; but this Congress secretly renewed the Alliance between the absolute sovereigns against the desires for freedom on the part of the peoples.

We have dwelt a little on the Treaty of Vienna, because its action dominates contemporary politics, although its lessons have not been of any profit, for a hundred and four years later the faults which it committed were renewed and even aggravated by the Treaty of Versailles.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RESTORATION

Difficulty of King Louis XVIII's Position—The position of Louis XVIII was delicate from the national point of view ; twice the military defeat of his country had set him on the throne where the enemies of France took measures to maintain him. He was able, however, through a fine enough grasp of immediate necessities, to cause the origin of his establishment on the throne to be forgotten. On his first accession Louis XVIII had given France a Constitution inspired by the spirit of the reforms of the Revolution and the Empire, in spite of the fact that he was opposed to this spirit.

Constitutional Charter : Origin of Parliamentary Rule in France—It bore the title of the Constitutional Charter.

The Charter, after a clumsy preamble, recognized freedom of worship and of the Press, and asserted the equality of Frenchmen for purposes of taxation, and the accessibility of employments for all. The ownership of national possessions was recognized and privileges definitely abolished. In standard of government the Charter recalled that of England, where Louis XVIII had lived for long. The Executive power belonged to the King, who had responsible Ministers ; these governed ; made treaties ; and nominated functionaries. The legislative power belonged equally to the King and to the two Chambers : the Chamber of Peers, chosen for life, and

whose office became hereditary, and the Chamber of Deputies, elected for five years by the electors who paid at least three hundred francs in taxes. The King convoked the Chamber and could dissolve it; he alone proposed legislative measures to the two Chambers. The Charter was the origin of Parliamentary Rule in France.

The White Terror—On their return to power in 1815, the royalist party, less liberal than their chief, provoked a reactionary movement; then the White Terror broke out, sustained by the ultra-royalists, that is to say, by those royalists who were "more royalist than the King." They wished for a return to the pre-Revolutionary régime without any modification. Officers of the Empire and Protestants were massacred in the South and West. Louis XVIII did not know how to resist his dangerous partisans. Some of the Generals of the Empire, faithful to Napoleon, were arraigned before the court-martial. The most illustrious of them, Ney, who had been called "the bravest of the brave," was condemned to death, together with Colonel de Labédoyère and Generals Chartran, Mouton-Duvernet and others.

The Undiscoverable Chamber (1815)—The elections of August, 1815, had, moreover, resulted in a Chamber of "Ultras" which Louis XVIII nicknamed "the undiscoverable Chamber." It demanded proceedings against the Emperor's partisans and claimed the privilege of holding public offices for royalists only of their own way of thinking. Laws were voted suppressing individual liberty. As a safeguard against "wrong" opinions, provost-courts were created, which comprised both military and civil judges, gave decisions without right of appeal, and writs of execution within twenty-four hours. The white flag having thus been unfurled, the wearing of the tricolour cockade was persecuted as a Bonapartist manifestation; seditious utterances were punished by

forced labour ; the Government could keep people under arrest without trial for attacks on the King or on the security of the State.

Dissolution of the Undiscoverable Chamber (1816)—This Chamber caused the King so much embarrassment that he was forced to dissolve it on September 5th, 1816. The majority in the new Chamber was liberal. Parties then took up a distinct position in the country. The ultra-royalists wished no Institutions to exist which recalled the Revolution. They attempted to get national estates returned to those who had possessed them under the old régime.

Parties Under the Restoration—They leant for support on the Count d'Artois, the King's brother, and on the " Congregation," a secret society for Catholic propaganda. The " Ultras " naturally wished for the abrogation of all lay laws. They sought to confer on the clergy the keeping of the Civil State registers and the supervision of public instruction ; and also to permit to them any acquisitions and to restore all their former domains. The principal men of this party were :—Chateaubriand, de Bonald, de Maistre, and Lamennais. The oldest French journal, " The Gazette of France," belonged to them.

The Moderates formed the right centre when they inclined towards the Ultras, the left centre when they inclined towards the advanced party. The doctrinaires, who numbered in their ranks the Duke de Broglie and Guizot, were supporters of legitimacy and of the Charter. The advance guard of the Opposition was formed by the Independents or Liberals, who did not go so far as republicanism. The best known were Laffitte, La Fayette, de Lanjuinais, and the song-writer Beranger, the pamphleteer Paul-Louis Courier, and the poet Casimir Delavigne. The Duke de Richelieu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, was at first in sympathy with the Ultras, but their excesses

pushed him towards the policy of the moderates. It was he who negotiated with the Allies and won the liberation of French territory. The governmental policy tended more towards liberalism, with the Minister of the Police, Decazes, who had the favour of Louis XVIII.

Progress of Liberalism—With every fresh Chamber the Liberal majority had increased and thus the bourgeoisie drew nearer to royalism. Laws were passed in 1819 in favour of liberty of the press ; decisions favourable also to the principle of open discussion were taken with regard to the voting of the budget (1817, 1818, 1827) ; the Budget itself had to be submitted in detail to the deputies ; the electoral law was reformed (1817) and instead of election in two stages, voting was by the electoral college of the Department (county) ; electors must be those who paid 300 francs and candidates 1,000 francs in taxes ; the Chamber was renewable by fifths. By the law Gouvion-St.-Cyr (from the name of the Minister for War who presented it in 1818), all Frenchmen were obliged to do six years' military service, except those exempt by lot ; substitution was allowed ; and the army was also recruited by enlisting.

These votes and the nomination of Liberal Ministers irritated the Count d'Artois, who demanded the Ministers' dismissal. His partisans even tried to get foreign sovereigns to intervene against the liberal politics of France ; at Aix-la-Chapelle the Allied autocrats advised Louis XVIII to change the method of election. Richelieu supported their intervention, but the King having disapproved, Richelieu resigned. In 1819, however, the King was offended by the election, as representative for Isère, of the Constitutional Bishop Grégoire, a former member of the Convention, who had approved the death of Louis XVI. Decazes, now President of the Council, prepared a new electoral law.

Assassination of the Duke de Berry—The assassination of the Duke de Berry, the King's nephew (13 February,

1820) by the saddler Louvel, who wished to kill in him the last of the Bourbons, threw the Government back to a rigorously reactionary policy. "The dagger which struck the Duke de Berry," said the writer Nodier, "was a liberal idea."

Return to the Policy of the Ultras—Louis XVIII asked Decazes for his resignation, and Richelieu returned to power as representative of the right centre. All liberal laws were revoked; Richelieu suspending (12 June, 1820) amongst others those which concerned individual liberty and liberty of the press. He presented and had accepted the law of the double vote, which created two electoral colleges; that of the *arrondissement* was composed of electors paying 300 francs in taxes and elected two hundred and fifty-eight deputies; the other, of the department, comprising the highest taxpayers, voted a second time for the hundred and seventy-two representatives who had still to be chosen. The ballot was supervised by magistrates, no longer by the electors; votes were open and public. Deputies had to be rich men, for they received no emoluments.

The liberals fought energetically against the law, and demonstrations took place in the streets. The first elections, those of 1820, made under the new electoral system, returned a great majority of Ultras to the Chamber. Their satisfaction culminated with the birth of a posthumous son to the Duke de Berry on September 29th, 1820. He received the title of Duke de Bordeaux and was nicknamed "the miraculous child." The Ultras, and especially their leader, the Count d'Artois, found Richelieu rather too lukewarm a royalist, and faced with their opposition, he resigned (December, 1821). Villèle, who had been an Ultra in the "Undiscoverable Chamber," succeeded him. Through pressure ever more strongly exerted from year to year, he obtained a greater and greater majority at the elections, but he was always more

led by the Chambers, than their leader. In 1823 he had the Chamber dissolved. The one returned at the fresh elections (February, 1824) contained so few liberals and was so favourable to the Ministry that it was nicknamed "the rediscovered Chamber." In order to space out the elections Villèle had the duration of the Parliamentary mandate extended to seven years. He suppressed freedom of instruction; the Normal School was closed as having too liberal a spirit; courses of lectures by eminent teachers like Guizot, Cousin and Villemain, were suspended at the Sorbonne; the censorship was exercised with pitiless severity, even in the Chamber, whence the Deputy Manuel was expelled in 1823 for having criticized French intervention in Spain. The liberal deputies united with him against this abuse of power; while the freedom of the press found an eloquent defender in Royer-Collard.

Opposition to Despotism—The violent acts of despotism gave rise to opposition. The great current of human enfranchisement which was sweeping over Europe could not stop at the borders of France, whence it had issued. At the invitation of the Carbonari, an Italian Secret Society, four young men, clerks of the Octroi, or Town Customs, founded at Paris a "Charbonnerie" which had to obey its chiefs and to arm to overthrow the Bourbons.

The Charbonnerie—The Charbonnerie was a group formed of all sorts of discontented people rather than of those having the same political ideal; it got in touch with the army and tried to incite the troops. Conspiracies among the soldiers then broke out at different points on French territory in 1822. The revolt was repressed, and the execution of four sergeants of La Rochelle, whose death aroused popular sympathy, marked the end of the attempt.

French Intervention in Spain—The government of Louis XVIII was faithful to the pact of the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance; it intervened against the Spanish

people who had overthrown their king, Ferdinand VII. The Deputy, Manuel, as has been said, maintained the tradition of the spirit of revolutionary France, by protesting against the voting of a loan of ten millions for the Spanish expedition. He feared that the interference of France in Spanish affairs would excite the people of Castille yet more against the King, and he compared the situation with that of Louis XVI, when France was invaded by foreign armies in support of this monarch. It was pretended that his speech was an apology for regicide ; opposition was in vain, and the Duke d'Angoulême was given the direction of the expedition. Under his orders were : Oudinot, Moncey, and Molitor, Marshals of the Empire, i.e. old generals of Napoleon I. He entered Madrid, then Cadiz, to which the revolutionary government had fled, and took the Trocadero by assault (August, 1823). Thus the royal government of France invested in a little military glory, which it had lacked in the eyes of its subjects, by stifling the disinterested revolt of another and friendly people.

Louis XVIII did not long survive the election of the "rediscovered Chamber." Already ailing, when Decazes fell, he had abandoned power into the hands of his mistress, Mme. de Caylus, who was wholly devoted to the Count d'Artois. He realized, nevertheless, the danger in which the dynasty was involved by the "Ultra" party.

Death of Louis XVIII, September 16th, 1824—Louis XVIII died on September 16th, 1824, after giving expression to his uneasiness at leaving the throne to the Count d'Artois, who on his accession took the name of Charles X.

The New King, Charles X : Leader of the Ultras—The leader of the Emigrants during the Revolution had, as he himself recognized, not changed since 1789. From the time of his accession reactionary laws, one and all unpopular, succeeded one another. In expiation of the work of the Revolution, the Minister Villèle had a law

passed (1825) granting a milliard francs to the emigrants dispossessed by the Republic. Another, the Law of Sacrilege (1825), punished with hard labour the theft of sacred objects from the churches, and with death when they contained the Host.

Anti-Democratic Measures—This measure had been prepared the preceding year by the handing over of the Direction of Public Instruction to the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Mgr. Frayssinous. A law for the restoration of the right of primogeniture was brought forward in 1826,—according to the Keeper of the Seals, Peyronnet, as “an anti-democratic measure.” The Chamber of Peers, more liberal than the other, rejected it by a majority of one, and the Parisians showed their pleasure by illuminations.

Law of Justice and Love—A yet more retrograde law was proposed in 1827 by the Minister of Justice, Keeper of the Seals, who named it, with as much imprudence as the preceding one,—“The Law of Justice and Love.” It dealt with the control of the press, which it made so severe that Casimir Périer summed it up with, “Printing is suppressed in France.” It was voted by the Chamber, but the hostility of the Parisians obliged the King to withdraw it (April, 1827). At a review held by the King, after the withdrawal, the population made a demonstration to show their disapproval, with the watchword, “Long live the Charter, long live freedom of the press.” The National Guard, which was composed of bourgeois, emphasized this opposition with the cry, “Down with Villèle. Down with the Ministers.” The King disbanded the National Guard and set up again the censorship of newspapers.

Popular Opposition to Ultra Policy—The popular opposition had already been expressed on various occasions,—among others when, in the very year of Charles X's coronation at Rheims (29 March, 1825), in spite of bad

weather a hundred thousand persons went to the cemetery of Père Lachaise, to follow the body of General Foy, who had fought with energy in the Chamber against the action of the Ultras. Demonstrations recurred at the obsequies of the great liberal leaders, the crowd bearing the coffins. Villèle wished to try to find a sure support in the two Chambers, and to attempt to obtain it he had two ordinances issued on November 6th, 1827. One created seventy-six new peers, who, he believed, might increase the ministerial majority; the other dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, because many of the Ultra-discontented—the new “party of defection”—voted with the liberals. Very great pressure was exercised by the Government on the Electoral Colleges, which nevertheless returned an opposing coalition. Villèle gave in his resignation in spite of the inclination of the Court to offer resistance. Charles X had himself to yield and form a moderate Ministry, at the head of which was a member of the right centre, Martignac.

Timid Return to a Liberal Policy—This could only be the Ministry of a transition period for it satisfied neither the right nor the left wing; but Martignac suppressed the Censorship, and created a Ministry of Public Instruction, under lay control, and distinct from the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Institution of the Black Cabinet, which tampered with private correspondence, was also suppressed; but the extremes in coalition made the life of the Ministry difficult. They put a check on its action concerning the proposed electoral law of May 9th, 1829, which aimed at reorganizing departmental and communal administrations. This law would have placed the election to the General Councils of the Arrondissements and Municipal Councils in the hands of the highest payers of taxes, instead of the appointments being in the hands of the King by nomination. Martignac withdrew the scheme, but after more violent attacks on him in the

Budget debates, handed in his resignation (August, 1829).

New "Ultra" Excesses—Charles X now thought he had experimented enough, and he formed an "Ultra" Ministry, in accordance with his private tastes. The Prince de Polignac was entrusted with its leadership, and went to the Foreign Office. The Prince had been an Emigrant and a conspirator against Napoleon; and he had attacked the Charter. To these facts, and to his personal friendship with Charles X, he owed his accession to power. Like the King, he understood nothing of the spirit of the times, and believed the memory of the Revolution could and should be effaced. This Minister, a member of the "Congregation," chose the Count de Bourmont to work with him at the War Office, the man who, before Waterloo, deserted the French army to join the Prussian. In forming such a Ministry, quite in opposition to the wishes of the country, Charles X forgot that he was a constitutional King. He said:—"I would sooner hew wood than be a King in the position of the King of England." The opposition, thus defied, began to organize itself, and a union took place between the republicans and the moderate royalists.

On March 2nd, 1830, at the opening of the Legislative session, Charles X made a speech, threatening the opposition. Two hundred and twenty-one Deputies replied by an address reminding the King of the obligations of the Charter and warning him that his government was not approved of by the nation. The King would not listen to such language, and the Chamber was dissolved (16 May, 1830), but of the two hundred and twenty-one deputies who had signed the addresses two hundred and one were re-elected; the opposition had actually gained ground in the new Chamber, where the Government was then in the minority. The King counted on the Algerian expedition and later on the capture of Algiers (July, 1830) to create a diversion and renew the enthusiasm which

had been provoked under the Martignac Ministry by intervention in favour of the Greeks when they shook off the Turkish yoke (1827) ; but the crisis was too grave. When the King realized this, he invoked Article 14 of the Charter to declare that in case of urgency, he had the right, without the advice of the Chambers, to issue ordinances having the force of law.

Ordinances Suppressing Freedom of the Press, Dissolving the Chamber and Modifying the Electoral System (July 25th, 1830)—He used this interpretation to issue four ordinances on July 25th, 1830 ; the first suppressed freedom of the press ; the second dissolved the Chamber before it met again ; the third modified the system of elections and only recognized one Electoral College in the Department, composed of the highest taxpayers, and also reduced the number of Deputies to two hundred and fifty-eight ; the fourth convoked the electoral colleges for the 13th September, in order that the Chambers might meet on the 28th.

The matters treated of in the first three ordinances fell under the head of laws and not of ordinances. Charles X's action, therefore, was of the nature of a coup d'état.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 AND THE JULY MONARCHY

Cleverly excited by discontented political parties, the people rose in rebellion. The King charged Marshal Marmont (who had abandoned his military post in 1814) to defend him with ten thousand soldiers. The seizing of several newspapers marked the beginning of the riot of Tuesday, July 27th; on the 28th fighting began in the streets. The insurgents fought the troops, with the arms of the national guard; and barricades whence the tricolour waved were set up in the streets. Some battalions deserted the royal cause, and the flag of sedition was planted on the Hôtel de Ville. On the 29th, while Charles X was preparing to hunt as usual at Fontainebleau, Marmont warned him that he was face to face now, not with a mere disturbance, but with a revolution, and asked him to revoke his ordinances. The King only consented in the afternoon; meantime two regiments had joined the insurgents. The Louvre, where Marmont had taken refuge, was taken and the Marshal had to abandon Paris.

Abdication of Charles X—The King then realized the gravity of the situation. He wished to form a liberal Ministry, but it was too late! He abdicated on August 2nd in favour of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux, and left for Cherbourg, whence he embarked for England.

The republicans and the liberal royalists, who had

joined forces for the revolution, separated after the victory ; but as the republicans could not form a quorum, they proclaimed as Lieutenant-General of the realm, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the head of the younger branch of the Bourbons, who had fought in the revolutionary army at Jemmapes and at Valmy (30 July).

Revision of the Charter—Parliament met on August 3rd, 1830, and on the 7th voted the revision of the Charter. The revised Charter gave the throne to Louis Philippe of Orleans, to whom it denied the right to make ordinances such as to annul the laws.

Louis Philippe of Orleans, King of the French, August 8th, 1830—It recognized no State religion ; it affirmed the equality of Frenchmen before the law and for taxation ; asserted freedom of conscience and of the Press, suppressed the Censorship ; declared Ministers responsible ; fixed the minimum age for Parliamentary candidature at thirty years, and of electors at twenty-five. The electoral register was cut down.

Two years later the Chamber of Peers added the abolition of their hereditary privilege to the Charter. Louis Philippe, who had accepted the tricolour flag, promised to observe the revised Charter faithfully. He took the title of King of the French and not of " King of France," on August 8th, 1830. Having been away from France during the Convention and up till the return of Louis XVIII, he had known poverty and had always lived as one of the middle-class ; it is thus that he reigned. He made Parliamentary government a reality in France. His position, however, was very delicate, for he had as enemies,—royalists, legitimists, and republicans, as well as the Bonapartists, and supporters of rule by Plebiscite, who numbered few at the beginning of the reign, but whose active propaganda rapidly re-enforced their ranks. He took as Ministers, however, members of the two most powerful of the parties who had overthrown Charles X :

liberals, like La Fayette and Laffitte, and Constitutionals like Guizot and Dupin. !

Parties after the July Revolution—The liberals held that the Revolution of 1830 was a step in social progress that could not be surpassed ; they formed the party of resistance. The Constitutionals did not consider the Revolution ended ; they formed the progressive party. The two tendencies jostled against one another in the Government, although Louis Philippe personally was for the party of resistance ; but he would not have dared to declare it, for it would have alienated the Parisians.

The People Wish to Pursue Revolutionary Action—Violent demonstrations on their part for several months were tolerated. They demanded that the Ministers of Charles X who had signed the ordinances should be put to death. These Ministers had been arrested, and imprisoned in the dungeon of Vincennes, whose governor was the retired general Daumesnil. The riotous wished to seize the prisoners, who were only saved by the General's courage. The partisans of resistance wished to have the ever-latent rioting repressed, and they left the Ministry, the control of which was given to Laffitte (August, 1830). Under his Ministry, when the Ministers of Charles X were condemned by the Chamber of Peers only to perpetual imprisonment (December, 1830), troubles arose, against which he used armed force. Two months later (February, 1831) the crowd invaded the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where a service in memory of the assassination of the Duke de Berry was being celebrated, and sacked it. The next day, having remembered that the Archbishop had advised Charles X to use force against the coalition of the opposition, they entered his palace and pillaged it, as well as his country house the next day. Laffitte resigned and Louis Philippe entrusted the Government to Casimir Périer, who, like Laffitte, had been a man of business, but who belonged to the party of resistance

(March, 1831). In power, he had only one thought : to stop the Revolution by any means, and especially by force. He tried not only to make the people give way, but the King himself had frequently to take the advice of the President of the Council, who was obeyed by his own colleagues and followed by the Chamber. All were called upon to receive his directions,—functionaries, press, clergy.

The Government Considers the Days of July as Ending the Revolution—Not content with endeavouring to impose his authority internally, he aimed also at commanding foreign affairs. Thus he had Ancona occupied by French troops to prevent the would-be advance of Austria into Italy,¹ although on another occasion he declared himself non-interventionist. Not feeling sure enough of a majority in the Chamber, Casimir Périer caused it to be dissolved by the King. The Prefects were ordered to get Deputies favourable to the Government returned, and generally did so (July, 1831). Casimir Périer was thus enabled to strike at the opposition press; and to treat insurrection with severity.

Riots at Lyons, 1831—The most violent was that of the workmen of Lyons, who demanded a rise in wages. The masters had agreed to satisfy their workmen's claims and then had broken their promises. The workmen seized Lyons and remained its masters for three days (November, 1831). Marshal Soult was sent against them with thirty thousand men and recaptured the town. St. Marc Girardin, albeit royalist, wrote in the "*Journal des Débats*" about this revolt : " Modern society will perish through its proletariat, if it does not seek through all possible means to give them a share in ownership, or if it makes of them active citizens before it makes them

¹ It must not be forgotten, however, that he refused to help the Polish rising, a refusal which provoked four days' rioting in Paris.

proprietors. I have no taste for a foolish and gulled philanthropy ; but whoever does not concern himself with the lot of the lower classes is neither a good Christian, nor a good citizen."

The legitimists also, Charles X's partisans, were restless. The Duchess de Berry, mother of the Duke de Bordeaux, came from Italy to rouse France in favour of her son and get him proclaimed King ; but his partisans were few. Betrayed, she was shut up at Blaye, whence a scandal dismissed her, shorn of all hope, thenceforth, of being able to take a part in politics.

Plague at Paris—During the popular festivities of mid-Lent, a terrible epidemic broke out in Paris and for some time overshadowed political preoccupations. Twenty thousand people died of it in three months at Paris, among them Casimir Périer (16 May, 1831). The panic which the cholera let loose was so great that the crowd, seeking its causes in the most barbarous superstitions of the Middle Ages, massacred several persons whom they accused of having propagated this terrible plague.

Rule of the King in Person—The King, not wishing to appoint a successor to Casimir Périer, endeavoured thenceforth to rule alone. This attempt was unfortunate ; disturbances breaking out everywhere. The adventure of the Duchess de Berry developed and ended during the absence of a Ministry.

Fresh Riots (1832)—The Republicans also raised their heads. The coffin of one of them, General Lamarque, was accompanied to the cemetery (5 June, 1832) by all the revolutionary forces of Paris ; encounters with the municipal guards took place and barricades were erected. The insurrection was at the point of triumph, when the National Guard, composed of bourgeois partisans of the King, succeeded in quelling it. Louis Philippe, tired of ruling alone, formed a Ministry, composed of men of all parties like Guizot, Thiers, and Broglie (11 October,

1832), when the workmen of Lyons, whose wages had been lowered again, went on strike. As the right to strike was not recognized, an action was brought against them. Street fighting took place, and it took the regular soldiers four days to put down the insurrection. The movement in Lyons had repercussions in Paris. Barricades were put up at the instigation of the secret "Society for the Rights of Man," which had affiliated branches all over France. General Bugeaud took the barricades by assault and his troops invaded a house in the Rue Transnonain and massacred its inhabitants. The leaders of the "Society for the Rights of Man" were arrested. There were also disturbances in the provinces, at Marseilles, Grenoble, St. Etienne and Lunéville.

Attempts Against Louis Philippe's Life—The Chamber of Peers judged the insurgents, who denied its power to do so. Condemnations and deportations were pronounced. Attempts were made on the King's life; six between 1835 and 1846. The best known is that of the infernal machine of the Corsican Fieschi, perpetrated on July 28th, 1835, when the King was reviewing the National Guard. It was not successful, but there were forty-one victims.

Laws and Measures Restricting Individual Liberty—These disturbances and plots all gave the Ministry an opportunity of proposing measures of repression to the Chambers; the laws of September, 1835, followed. They created Assize Courts to judge acts of rebellion and diminished the number of votes necessary in cases of this kind, in which the jury was to deliberate in secret. They prosecuted, as criminal, insults to the King and attacks against the form and privileges of Government and property. Public subscriptions for the payment of fines inflicted on the guilty also came under the grasp of the law. A special censorship was set up for newspapers which contained caricatures, for in such, the spirit of

the opposition had taken somewhat lively forms, and the King had often, to raise ridicule, been represented with a pear-shaped head. At the same time the sovereign raised thirty-eight conservatives, who had been deputies under Charles X, to the peerage. Disagreement, however, held sway in the very heart of the Ministry, which was heterogeneous in composition. The left centre, with Thiers, who wished for a monarchy as in England, broke with the right centre, led by Guizot, who wished the King to concern himself with public affairs.

Prince Louis Napoleon, the Emperor's nephew, and son of the King of Holland, Louis, and of Hortense de Beauharnais, took advantage of the internal troubles to try to seize power. At Strasbourg he appealed to the people and the army (3 October, 1836), but was arrested, after he had won over to his cause a regiment of artillery. When he was released, he left for America; but he renewed his attempt, without more success, at Boulogne in 1840. This time he was shut up in the fortress of Ham, whence he escaped in 1846.

Thiers had become head of the Government, when Broglie's Ministry fell (22 February, 1836); but on disagreeing with the King over intervention in favour of the Constitution in Spain, which he had promised in his ministerial capacity, he handed in his resignation. Louis Philippe then gave (September, 1836) the highest office to a man to his own taste, Molé, who, coming from a parliamentary family of the old régime, rallied to the new, after having served Napoleon. Molé, who took Guizot as collaborator in Foreign Affairs, was the political servant of a personal rule. The opposition called this new Ministry a Ministry of Lackeys. Guizot having left the Ministry, a Parliamentary Coalition was formed which united the right and left centres and grouped together the advanced forces. Molé only obtained a majority in the Chamber with difficulty. Parliament

was dissolved (January, 1839), but the Coalition triumphed in the new elections. Molé then resigned (8 March, 1839). There was no fresh Ministry for two months, till the formation of that of Marshal Soult, composed of members of the right and left centres.

Revival of Revolutionary Movement—The formation of this Ministry was facilitated by the revival of the revolutionary movement, organized by men of courage and energy like Blanqui and Barbès. The revolutionary "Society for the Rights of Man," which disappeared after one of the attacks on Louis Philippe, had been replaced by that of the "Families" and that in its turn by the "Seasons." This last, without the Government being aware of it, prepared an insurrection which broke out on May 12th, 1839. It was put down. Barbès and Blanqui, condemned to death, had their sentence commuted to imprisonment for life; but they did not cease their revolutionary activities, and they will be found again in the 1848 Revolution. The Ministry, a product of panic, was of brief duration. It disappeared on February 10th, 1840, and Thiers was recalled (1 March, 1840). He distracted the attention of the nation from political and social questions, by a warlike attitude. He wished to defend the Sultan of Egypt, who was under French protection, against England, Russia, Austria and Prussia. There was talk of preparations for a war to tear up the Treaties of 1815.

The Threat of War—The troops were recalled; the equipment of the fleet was increased; and it was decided to fortify Paris. Patriotic enthusiasm was highly excited by the removal to Paris of the ashes of Napoleon, a ceremony which, prepared for by Thiers, only took place after his government had ended. At the opening session of the Chamber, Thiers made a warlike speech and demanded funds for the mobilization of five hundred thousand men; but the King being opposed to the war,

Thiers resigned. He was replaced by the second Ministry of Soult, really directed by Guizot (October, 1840). Having obtained, by official management, a Chamber giving him a majority, this doctrinaire's term of office gives an impression of pacification and even mastery of the country, for his Ministry lasted eight years; but his policy was so far removed from the national aspirations that it was bound to end in revolution.

The royal security was disturbed in the second year of the Ministry by the accidental death of the heir to the throne, the Duke d'Orleans. The Duchess was set aside from the Regency in favour of the Duke de Nemours, the King's second son. The crown passed, by right, to the Count de Paris, elder son of the Duke d'Orleans. It did not seem, therefore, as though dispute as to the succession was possible, for Charles X had died in 1836 and his son, the Duke de Bordeaux, had few partisans. The Government, blinded by prejudice and self-confidence, did not foresee a change in the present order.

Guizot's Realist Policy—Guizot thought no reform necessary, and the only advice he gave to the country was to get rich. All favours, even all rights, including that of being an elector, were reserved for the comfortable bourgeois. Guizot had the good business view in home politics. His foreign policy was less questionable, but it was much criticized because of the high feeling at the time. Guizot, in fact, like Louis Philippe, was a partisan of "peace at any price."

First Entente Cordiale—The two were in agreement over the establishing of the earliest Entente Cordiale between France and England, in spite of Chauvinists. To cement this, Queen Victoria came to visit the royal family at Eu (September, 1843), and Louis Philippe visited her in return at Windsor (October, 1844); but this Entente was weakened by the marriage of Isabella of Spain to the Duke de Montpensier, with the approval

of Louis Philippe, while the English Ministry wished to marry her to a Coburg. Louis Philippe strove always to smooth out difficulties which arose with England ; but conflicts were numerous. Guizot was blamed for the Convention with England which determined right of search of vessels suspected of carrying slaves. Guizot had the Chamber which protested against this agreement dissolved (1842). A more serious disagreement arose between the Minister and the Parliament concerning the demand for apology and reparation, put forward by the British Government owing to the arrest at Tahiti of the missionary-Consul Pritchard, which had taken place after the massacre of some French sailors by the natives. Guizot contended that he must defend the honour of the French navy, but he proposed an indemnity to England. The Chamber, in the debate to which the affair gave rise, only granted a feeble majority to the Government (January, 1845).

Although the opposition was not manifested in riots, any Government heedful of its own security, like that of Guizot, but a better reader of the signs of the times, should have been uneasy ; for the party in power can always suppress an ill-prepared insurrection ; whilst a revolution born and matured in the minds of men, then spread by intelligent reasoning and set out in clear tracts which facilitate its execution, is always to be feared by a régime counting only on its army and the brute force at its disposal.

Wealth of Ideas under the July Monarchy—Guizot could refuse the French people their natural rights. He could not prevent those who remembered the Revolution from thinking. This epoch of sectarianism and servitude was that in which the boldest theories of liberation were unfolding. There was even a Catholic revival among those Catholics anxious to play a part in the march of social events. The Breton, Abbé Lamennais, was the

leader of the liberal Catholics. He had a paper "L'Avenir" (i.e. "The Future") to which the eloquent Count de Montalembert, a French peer, contributed, also a famous preacher, the Dominican, Lacordaire.

Catholic Effort—These notable men demanded in the first place freedom of education. The Government and the Bishops complained to Pope Gregory XVI, who condemned the liberal Catholics in the encyclical letter, "Mirari Vos" (5 August, 1832). Montalembert and Lacordaire gave way, but Lamennais refused to submit. He was excommunicated and became a revolutionary. He expressed his theories in the book entitled: "Words of a Believer." Montalembert in 1831 opened a free primary school without Government authorization, which earned him the condemnation of the Chamber of Peers. In spite of the law, however, establishments were founded. In 1846, the Catholic party brought in a Bill in the Chamber, which was rejected. The Jesuits, also, continued their refusal to submit; but their establishments were closed in 1845. Whilst under Charles X the opposition was that of the champions of free thought, under Louis Philippe part of it was Catholic. Experience, nevertheless, was to show that Louis Philippe was right to have doubts on this kind of freedom of instruction, for later, when it triumphed, the religious establishments made use themselves of their sway over people's minds to carry on a political campaign, in direct opposition to Governments, especially liberal Governments, with the aim of the assumption of power by the Catholic forces.

Proletarian Attempts to Win Freedom—Side by side with liberal Catholicism, which knew how to adapt the doctrines of the past to the exigences of the present, were born entirely new social theories aiming at transforming society by establishing it on principles of justice and equality. Their object was the social enfranchisement of the workers. The propagation of these theories

among workmen was facilitated by the increase in factories which helped them to form a definite class. These ideas, at first vague, mystic, abstract and fanciful, gradually became precise and practical. Their champions were called Socialists.

The Triumph of the Bourgeoisie—Guizot's advice, "get rich," had been followed by the bourgeoisie. Large fortunes were founded, established, and added to, by the toil of the workmen, without their condition being improved. On the contrary, as we have seen in the case of certain conflicts, rich manufacturers took advantage of the workmen's need of working, to lower their wages, and when, instead of lowering they consented to raise them, the increase could not compare with that in the cost of living. To the masters' right of coercion, which forced the workmen to submit to all their exactions, there was no corresponding right to strike. (See p. 232 : account of the strikes at Lyons.) Strikes were punished by law, and the Government was always favourable to the masters, and did not hesitate to have their cause defended by troops,—a line of action which provoked sanguinary conflicts. Having learnt by experience to expect no amelioration of their lot either from any government, however reformed, or from limited or even universal representation, the workers, the most numerous and the most useful class, sought to obtain it by means of a social organization different from any in existence. They took an interest in various very bold projects presented to them by men of great intelligence and great courage. It is only possible here to treat very briefly of these schemes, by naming the great initiators of the movement.

Origins of Socialism : Fourier—The first of these theorists was Fourier. He aimed at making all men's passions serve the general interest. To that end he classed men into groups which were to be subdivided to form a har-

monious whole, and each to work, in accordance with their special aspirations, for the happiness of all. This system was based on the union of talent, labour and capital. Its realization was to be the "Phalansterium." Certain associations formed on its model subsist to-day. Victor Considérant tried to apply Fourier's principles. Cabet, from the same group, would have replaced money by exchange of goods, and have had the hours of work for each citizen regulated by the State.

Saint-Simon—Saint-Simon based his system on the principle: "Each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its work." His theory suppressed individual ownership of property and replaced it by Communism. The mysticism in which these interesting ideas were enveloped, killed them. *Enfantin*, one of Saint-Simon's disciples, built a church at *Ménilmontant*, a Paris suburb, where with his friends he sought, according to his ideas, to restore the pulpit to its proper uses. He was arrested and prosecuted and his church closed (1832). With *Louis Blanc* and *Proudhon* the new social systems ceased to be mystical, imaginative and sentimental; and became scientific and practical.

Louis Blanc—*Louis Blanc* claimed the "right to work," which he did not find organized in contemporary society. He wished to start national workshops, where the State should provide tools for the workmen to use as they saw fit. The profits of the work were to go wholly to the workers.

Proudhon—*Proudhon* would have suppressed the State and made of society an association of free workers, who would not store up wealth but would exchange their products amongst themselves. His system rests on *Mutualism*.

These bold theories produced a profound impression. The republicans were inspired by their principles, but seeking to gain by reform what the socialists wished to

win by a radical change. "We have far less in mind," said a republican manifesto, "a political change, than a social recasting." The republicans, too, made their appeal to the workers, but they saw the remedy for all their ills in universal suffrage.

The revolutionary spirit was not only political and social; it was also intellectual.

Romanticism—By way of reaction against imitation of the classics, under the July Monarchy, the Romantic school developed. Its earliest attempts date from the Empire, when Chateaubriand first declared he preferred the inspiration of the Middle Ages to that of the Ancients. Lamartine was the first of the Romantic poets, but Victor Hugo became the great leader of the School. Around his dramas, "Cromwell" (1828) and "Hernani" (1830), veritable literary battles were fought.

It is rare to find the general feeling of a country revolutionary without its inspirations being translated into action. Deaf to these warnings, its "bourgeois" path was pursued by Louis Philippe's government, a course which may be partially excused, when one considers both what had and what had not gone before it.

Reforms of the July Monarchy—Guizot has the credit of having reformed primary education (1833) and decreed that every commune should have a public school. Humanitarian reforms were made in the penal code (1832); the iron collar, the mark of infamy on the back of convicts, and mutilation of the fist of parricides, were suppressed. The Jury could soften the severity of a sentence by recognizing attenuating circumstances in misdemeanours and crimes. Naturally, what most concerned the Government were economic innovations, which gave scope for increase of wealth. The metric system became the only one legal in France for weights and measures. The organization of railways was regulated by the law of 1842. The services of public works

were considerably improved. Care was taken of parish roads ; great canals were constructed—from the Rhone to the Rhine, in Nivernais and in Burgundy. The country was dotted with factories and workshops. Public finance and trade prospered ; and numerous exhibitions took place. But, if Guizot was always ready for economic improvements, he opposed all great social reforms. "The day will never come," he said, "for universal suffrage, the absurd system which would summon all living creatures to the exercise of political rights." In 1847, however, electoral reforms were demanded both by republicans and by monarchists. They asked for an increase in the number of electors ; and in order that the deputies might be more independent, demanded that certain officials, such as Prefects, should not be members of Parliament. When the Government refused these reforms, their partisans decided to appeal to the country. The agitation was spread in a campaign of banquets. The refusal to allow one of these to be held in Paris was the origin of the 1848 Revolution (22 February).

The 1848 Revolution Breaks Out in February Over Electoral Reform—Barricades were erected on the night of February 22nd–23rd. The National Guard joined the rioters and demanded the departure of Guizot as well as electoral reform. Guizot resigned, but the King replaced him immediately by Molé, which could only cause dissatisfaction among the people.

An incident on the evening of the 23rd provoked firing on the part of the troops, and the real revolution began. On the 24th Louis Philippe tried in vain to check it by calling to power Thiers and Odilon Barrot ; but at the same time Marshal Bugeaud was, as a reactionary, given the task of repressing the movement by force. Some of his troops went over to the Revolution. Louis Philippe replaced him by Lamoricière, but the King was unable to hold a review of the National Guard. He went back

to the Tuileries, resolved, but too late, to form a Ministry from the left wing and to grant reforms.

Abdication of Louis Philippe—The revolution advanced towards the palace and Louis Philippe was obliged to abdicate. He did so in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris ; and then, forced to flee before the attack on the Tuileries, left for England.

Provisional Government — The Duchess d'Orleans, mother of the Count de Paris, took refuge with her son in the Chamber, which first proclaimed her Regent ; but the rebels having entered the Chamber, the formation of a Provisional Government was decided on. The list of those who were to compose it was at once drawn up. It comprised seven members : Lamartine, who had just gone over from the royalists to the revolutionists ; Ledru-Rollin, Arago, Marie, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux, and Garnier-Pagès. Another list, added to the first, included, Louis Blanc, Marrast, Flocon, and the working-man, Albert. The eleven thus chosen were to take up power under the title, " The Provisional Government of the French Republic." The same evening, in the Place of the Hôtel de Ville, Lamartine announced this news to the crowd as follows : " The Provisional Government desires the Republic, subject to ratification by the French people, who will be immediately consulted."

CHAPTER XIX

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

Proclamation of the Republic (26 February, 1848)—Royalty was abolished and the Republic proclaimed by decree on February 26th. It was no longer now a question of choosing between the white flag and the tricolour, but between the tricolour and the red flag. Lamartine rejected the red flag, chosen by the people. This difference of opinion as to a symbol existed for more serious motives between those who had made the revolution.

Different Tendencies in Power—The deputies wished the revolution to be exclusively political; the working classes wished it to be social; and this diversity of tendencies was represented in the Government. There were there partisans of bourgeois republicanism, of radical republicanism, and of socialism, who, in order to collaborate, had to make concessions. The party entente often produced well-sounding formulæ: "The Republic undertakes to guarantee the existence of the workman by his work. . . ." "War is not the guiding principle of the French Republic, though it became the fatal and glorious necessity of 1792." "The French Republic will not declare war on any one; she will not make underhand and incendiary propaganda amongst her neighbours. . . ." Useful reforms also were decided on. The Government proclaimed the abolition of the death penalty for political offences (26 February), and the abolition of

slavery in the colonies (27 April). Of course it recognized freedom of the press and reorganized the National Guard, in which all citizens—instead of the bourgeois only—had to serve.

Labour Reforms—Louis Blanc obtained innovations from his colleagues more in accordance with socialist principles; the working-day was shortened by an hour. A Government Commission for the workers was not granted him, but a Consultative Assembly was formed for questions concerning labour, on which he sat, as well as Albert.

The National Workshops—In conformity with the promise given to find work for all, workshops were opened, but, instead of being social as Louis Blanc demanded, they were national. The State did not know how to organize this work, and the special abilities of the workman were not utilized. They were employed on work of no value to the nation. The result was an onerous burden for the Treasury, and on June 21st the National Workshops were closed. The unfortunate unemployed were given the choice between military service and unpaid labour. Troops formed by such measures contained the seeds of fresh insurrection.

Universal Suffrage, March 5th, 1848—On March 5th, 1848, a decree established universal suffrage. All Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age and over were electors; those of twenty-five and over were eligible for election. The representatives of the people were chosen by secret ballot in the chief town of each canton. In order that deputies should not be chosen exclusively from among the rich, they were to receive an indemnity of 25 francs per day. This measure, which satisfied public opinion, would have brought about a happy period of calm if the bad state of the budget, the loss of a loan, and the hidden resources of the capitalists had not forced exceptional measures on the Government, like the compulsory

currency of bank-notes, the creation of Treasury bonds, and, above all, the extraordinary tax of 45 centimes added to direct taxes, which was particularly ill received in the country. In order that France might be better prepared to fulfil its civic obligations, the socialist workmen demanded that the elections, fixed for April 9th, should be postponed to April 23rd.

The Government Relies on the Support of the Bourgeoisie—The Government had taken up a fresh point of view. It sought support from the bourgeoisie, in order to avoid the democratic republic demanded by the workmen's clubs, i.e. by the majority in the country. The elections of April 23rd were favourable to the moderates ; but, on the other hand, the complementary elections in the same year favoured the extremists.

The National Assembly Proclaims the Republic : May 4th—The National Assembly proclaimed the Republic on May 4th and the same day the Provisional Government resigned. It was replaced by a Commission of five, with Executive powers : Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Marie. It was absolutely hostile to the socialists. Workmen from the Clubs invaded the Assembly on May 15th, demanding intervention in favour of Poland. They declared the Assembly dissolved and took possession of the Hôtel de Ville ; but the National Guard saved the Assembly. The chief socialist leaders, Albert, Barbès, Blanqui, Raspail, and Sobrier, were arrested. The Assembly, to avenge itself further, closed the National Workshops and prosecuted Louis Blanc, whom it reproached for having opened them. The unemployed workers then rose in revolt, demanding the re-establishment of the workshops and the dissolution of the Assembly.

Labour Insurrection Against the Government—The Insurrection spread to several of the Paris suburbs. The Executive Commission resigned and General Cava-

gnac assumed power. The battle between the Government troops and the insurgents, which was named the "Days of June," lasted four days (23rd-26th June). Five Generals were killed in one day. The Archbishop of Paris, in attempting to interpose between the combatants, was killed also. The insurgents were defeated after the taking of the Faubourg St. Antoine, eleven thousand were made prisoners, and four thousand of these were deported without trial. The "state of siege" (martial law) which had been proclaimed at the beginning of the rioting was maintained. General Cavaignac, having given up the dictatorship, received Executive power. The Government suppressed newspapers and demanded bail for permission to publish news; it had the Clubs closed, and took up the case against Louis Blanc and the Prefect of Police, Caussidière, both of whom, certain of condemnation, fled. The Assembly, thus freed from military opposition, gave a Constitution to the country.

Constitution of the Second Republic—Its principles were:—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; as bases—the family, work, property, public order. It recognized the sovereignty of the people, the equality of all citizens, individual freedom of conscience, of association, of education, of the press and of work; but it said nothing of the right to work. The Constitution rested on the principle of the separation of powers; the executive power belonged to a President of the Republic, elected for four years by universal, direct suffrage. He could neither dissolve nor prorogue the Assembly. He named the Ministers and the officials and gave orders to the army and the police.

Legislative power belonged to the Legislative Assembly composed of seven hundred and fifty representatives of the French people elected for three years by universal direct suffrage, by ballot. Foreseeing the danger of dictatorship, some republicans wished the President to

be nominated by the Assembly. This plan was rejected ; but, as a matter of caution, the Assembly decided to make him swear fidelity to the Constitution and to set up a High Court to judge him if he was false to his oath.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the Republic—The enemies of republican principles (royalists, legitimists, Orleanists, and Catholics), joined with those who had retained the superstition in favour of the name of the Emperor (i.e. Napoleon), and elected as President of the Republic Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who had so hopelessly failed in his two attempts at a coup d'état. He obtained 5,434,000 votes and Cavaignac 1,448,000 (10 December, 1848). He took the Constitutional oath, adding these words : " My duty is planned out for me ; I shall fulfil it as a man of honour. I shall regard as the country's enemies all who attempt to change by illegal ways that which the whole of France has established."

Louis Napoleon chose a Ministry hostile to the Republic ; only one of its members was republican, Bixio, who very soon retired. The reactionaries who were most prominent in the Ministry were Odilon Barrot and Falloux. General Changarnier, known for his anti-revolutionary outlook, was at the head of the army in Paris.

President's Policy of Personal Rule—The President at once made clear his policy of ruling in person. He supported his Ministry, which had been checkmated by Parliament, and, in spite of the Assembly, intervened for the Pope against the Roman Republic. Discouraged at its want of power, and on the initiative of the right wing, the Assembly declared its mission ended after voting the Constitution (27 May, 1849). It was replaced by the Legislative Assembly, the majority in which was opposed to the Republic ; but the elections showed some progress of the radical and socialist parties. These two parties against the reaction formed a common programme, but

their small numbers prevented them from hoping for any success against the opposing party, known as the party of order. Ledru-Rollin, who had organized the coalition of the left, reproached the Government, on the subject of the Rome expedition, with having violated the Constitution, "which promised that the Republic would never employ its forces against the liberty of any people." The demand for an arraignment of the Government was rejected. Ledru-Rollin threatened to defend the Constitution, by arms if necessary. Inspired by him, a demonstration took place in Paris. Changarnier easily dispersed it (13 June); but it gave opportunity to the Government to fix the "state of siege" and to authorize courts-martial to judge all crimes against the State.

Anti-Republican Laws—The voting of a series of anti-republican laws marked the Parliamentary session of 1850. Falloux' law, named after its originator (15 March, 1850), was passed against lay instruction and public teachers whom it put under the supervision of the clergy; the catechism was taught in primary schools; State teaching was suppressed, to the advantage of religious establishments, which profited by favoured treatment. Universal suffrage was limited by the law of May 31st, 1850, after by-elections favourable to the republicans and socialists in March and April. To be an elector, it was now necessary to have lived three years in the same commune and to have paid tax as resident. This measure was directed against the workmen, whose work often necessitated moving about. Lastly, the law of July 16th, 1850, restricted newspapers with severity, and added to the security-fee required.

As by the Constitution the re-election of the President of the Republic was forbidden, Louis Napoleon, who wished for re-election, intrigued endlessly against the ruling and demanded its revision; but before this could be passed, it was necessary for three-quarters of the

Assembly to agree. In spite of the campaign of propaganda carried on, and as a result of the energetic opposition of the republicans, the proposal of revision was rejected (17 November, 1851).

Coup d'État (December 2nd, 1851)—To keep his power, and to extend it, Louis Napoleon immediately prepared the coup d'état of the proclamations. In the night of the 1st-2nd December, 1851, sixteen of the people's representatives were arrested. Louis Napoleon at once had proclamations posted, declaring the Chamber dissolved, and announced that universal suffrage would be re-established and the electors convoked to vote a new Constitution. Two hundred deputies declared Louis Napoleon to be out of office, but they were arrested. A Committee of resistance to the Coup d'État was then formed by Victor Hugo, Michel de Bourges, Carnot, Jules Favre, de Flotte, Madier de Montjau, and Schoelcher ; but the people gave it no support, thinking it was only formed to defend the Assembly, which had refused them civic rights. Some barricades were set up, at one of which the representative, Baudin, was killed. On December 4th there was firing in the Boulevards of Paris and three hundred arrests took place. In the Departments there was more serious resistance. The Government used this as a pretext for belief in a terror, and made numerous further arrests. Courts-martial and mixed Commissions, composed of Administrators and Magistrates, judged those arrested behind closed doors and without witnesses ; ten thousand were deported and three thousand interned.

Plebiscite of December, 1851—The Plebiscite of 20th and 21st December approved the Coup d'État by seven and a half million votes, and gave Louis Napoleon the powers of Dictator for ten years. This Cæsar-like success was owing to the bourgeois fears of a revolutionary victory, which would perhaps have been no more than

republican. It was as the representative of "order" that Louis Napoleon, false to the oath of the Constitution, assumed the Dictatorship which would lead naturally to Empire.

New Constitution—As the plebiscite authorized, in January, 1852, Louis Napoleon promulgated a Constitution, modelled on that of Year VIII, which had been drawn up by a Commission of five whom he had nominated. The President of the Republic was elected for ten years. He possessed not only Executive power, but he commanded the army by land and sea, declared war, signed peace, had sole initiative in proposing laws, and was solely responsible to the people, when he wished to make them judge of his actions ; he nominated Ministers and all officials ; he had the right of pardon, and could choose his successor. Legislative power was in the hands of three Assemblies, two of which, the Council of State and the Senate, were nominated by the Head of the State. Only the Legislative Body, composed of two hundred and sixty-one members, was chosen by the people, with universal suffrage, for six years ; but official pressure put the power actually in the hands of the Government. The Council of State supported, before the Legislative Body, the laws and the budgets which the Ministers presented. The Legislative Body could only vote, without amending. The Senate, composed of a hundred and fifty, who were members for life, examined whether the laws were conformable to the Constitution, and if they were not, modified them till they became so. Petitions from the citizens were addressed to the Senate which decided whether they should or should not go on to the Ministers.

The elections of February 29th, 1852, were rather the work of the Prefects, under the Minister of the Interior, than that of the French people ; and they were entirely favourable to the Prince President. In addition, as a

precaution, between the plebiscite which had kept him President and the legislative elections, Louis Napoleon had issued decrees with the force of law, which suppressed opposition. One in particular, of February 17th, 1852, put the Press under the tutelage of the administration, which had the right to fill up the papers with official communiqués. Louis Napoleon paved the way to Empire by journeys throughout France, explaining his programme and getting it acclaimed. At Bordeaux in October, 1852, he ventured to say: "The Empire means peace"—words which the future woefully belied. On November 7th, 1852, the President of the Senate (whose office it was to preserve the Constitution !) proposed a "Senatus-Consultum," which was to be ratified by a popular plebiscite, to lead to the "restoration of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and the making of his title hereditary." The plebiscite passed this with 7,824,189 votes.

Louis Napoleon, Emperor : December 2nd, 1852—On December 2nd, 1852, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor with the title of Napoleon III. The French people, who think themselves so proud of their liberty, were passing through one of their too-frequent crises, when indifference and blindness made them accept and even uphold the high-sounding name of a tyrant, destined to bring misfortune upon them and to lead them to ruin. The only protests against the Empire were those of the Count de Chambord on behalf of the royalists ; and, for the republicans, those of the poet, Victor Hugo, whom the Coup d'État had sent into exile in Guernsey.

CHAPTER XX

THE SECOND EMPIRE

The Emperor sought to strengthen his dynasty by a marriage. He who, nineteen years later, was to let loose a fatal war for France, in order to prevent a member of the royal house of Prussia from ascending a new throne—he begged the hand of a Hohenzollern ! It was refused him, as were the hands of all the royal princesses to which he aspired. He married a beautiful young Spanish noblewoman, Eugénie de Montijo (29 January, 1853), by whom he had a son (16 March, 1856), the Prince Imperial, who should have succeeded him.

The Empire meant War—The republican Constitution of 1852 was in spirit so imperial, that it was hardly worth modifying it to adapt it to the new régime. In spite of the promise of Napoleon III,—“the Empire means peace,”—the Empire meant war,—the Crimean War (1854–1856) on behalf of Turkey, in alliance with England against Russia ; and the Italian War (1859) against Austria. The latter, which allowed of the setting-up of a united Italy, gave France, Nice and Savoy. Expeditions also took place in China, Cochin China and Mexico, this last being specially immoral because it was purely for financial reasons. It ended in a disaster (1863–67). Then there came the last misdeed of the Empire, the Franco-German War of 1870–71, which brought it to an end, leaving a sorely wounded France. Could it be

otherwise, when it was a question of maintaining on the throne a man only raised to it by the prestige of a warrior's name?

England was the first to hold out her hand to the man whom the courts of Europe considered an upstart. Napoleon went to Windsor, and Queen Victoria visited St. Cloud (1855), then went to Cherbourg for a naval review (1858). Nicolas, who at first had been so disdainful of Napoleon III, met him in the same town. The Kings of Sweden, Prussia, and the Netherlands then came to France. The Sovereigns were for the last time the guests of Napoleon at the World Exhibition in 1867,¹ which was the culmination of the Imperial glory.

The Emperor also kept up a Court where fête succeeded fête. Thus the nearly century-long effort of the French people to control its own affairs was defeated, though it was to be taken up again when the imperial adventure, which left it enfeebled and bloodstained, was at an end.

For several years the Empire met with no opposition. After each too violent conflict left her exhausted, France, despairing of saving herself, because her attempt to win freedom had not succeeded, abandoned herself for the moment to the hands of anybody with enough ability to carry on affairs. Her moral forces, good sense and critical spirit only revived with her physical power.

Opposition Stifled—It is the hope reborn with convalescence which makes those who know her history, ready to bear with many of her errors of the past. From 1852 to the elections of 1857, the Emperor, by the exile of republicans, and censorship of the press, was the absolute master of the country. The only opponents of the Legislative Body had had to leave the Assembly in 1852, for refusal to take the oath to the Emperor. The opponents of 1857 who were elected took the oath. They were

¹ The first French World Exhibition took place in Paris in 1855, four years after that of London.

Émile Ollivier, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Darimon and Hénon. (Carnot and Goudchaux, however, refused the oath.) They formed the group of five who awoke in France the dormant spirit of opposition. The attempt of Orsini on the Emperor's life (14 January, 1858) served as a pretext for fresh despotic measures ; a law of public security was voted by the Legislative Body which gave the Government power to intern and expel without trial, suspected persons and persons accused of disturbing the public peace and inciting " to hatred and contempt of the Government."

General Espinasse, who had taken part in the Coup d'État, was made Minister of the Interior. To have this law carried out in each Department, he handed the Prefect the minimum number of arrests to be made, and a free hand. Three hundred persons were deported. But if Napoleon III would not make any reform in favour of the social enfranchisement of the French people, he did not forget that in his youth he had been sympathetic with the workmen's claims ; and he satisfied a few of these as if to calm the French working-classes : who, for some improvement in their material condition, too easily abandoned their claims to freedom, forgetting that such concessions made by their masters often bind those who accept more than those who propose them.

Commerce, Industry, Public Works—The Empire did establish some works of real benefit. Napoleon III encouraged Societies of mutual aid, instituted old age pensions, and promoted the co-operation of consumers and producers. The law of 1864 conceded to workmen the right to combine and to strike. It must not either be forgotten that it was the Empire which, by giving judicial assistance, gave the poor the possibility of obtaining justice free of charge. Workmen found work in the new erections in Paris ; the old, dirty, narrow and insani-tary streets were pulled down and the large boulevards

opened. This transformation of Paris was partly due to the Prefect, Baron Haussmann ; the Bois de Boulogne and de Vincennes became promenades ; the Opera was begun ; the central markets sprang up. If, however, all these works let the workman live, as the ear of corn fallen from a too rich harvest is gleaned by the poor, they far more created and added to the fortunes of the few. Speculations were made on the sites which were to be cut up for new streets. Public works necessitated loans, municipal and State. Financial Societies, such as the *Crédit Foncier* and the *Crédit Lyonnais* and the *Comptoir d'Escompte*, were founded to lend money for large enterprises, commercial and industrial. The money gained in unlimited stock-jobbing was spent in scandalous pleasure-making, which characterized what was known as " the high life " of the Second Empire.

The railways, necessary for commerce, were extended. The Suez Canal was cut in face of great difficulties, by a Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, whom Napoleon III had helped ; the steamship fleet was increased. Agriculture was developed scientifically and agricultural " Committees " were started and competitions organized, under encouragement from the Administration. Commercial treaties were concluded with foreign countries to allow of the sale of products. This constant necessity to watch over the material interests of the nation, to seek to increase them in order to govern a country which had thus become richer, forced Napoleon III into a policy more liberal in appearance, after eight years of high-handed rule. The year 1860 marked the beginning of this change. The amnesty of 1859, refused by many of the proscribed exiles, was a foretaste of it. Two imperial acts must be specially noticed in 1860 : (1) The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty which allowed English products to enter France with lowered tariffs, and which secured reciprocal treatment in England for French

products (23 January). (2) The decree of November 24th, which restored discussion of the address after the speech from the throne, permitted shorthand reports of the debates, authorized the Chambers to examine and vote the budget, and created unofficial Ministers to explain to Parliament the actions of the Government.

Opposition Reappears (1863)—Opposition reappeared, first in Parliament, then outside it. Before the 1863 elections the discontented members of different parties formed a coalition under the name of "Liberal Union," which aimed at controlling governmental action. Thirty new deputies of the opposition were elected, in spite of the zeal of the Administration on behalf of the official candidates. Thiers, who had favoured the reaction under the Second Republic, became Liberal and made himself the advocate of "necessary liberties," that is to say, of the liberties of the individual, of the Press, of public meetings and elections (11 January, 1864). His speech made a great impression on the country.

The Emperor's Liberal Concessions—The Emperor replied to it by remodelling the Ministry. The most striking personality of the thus modified Cabinet was the Minister of Public Education, Duruy, who tried to make education something other than imperial propaganda. He gave guarantees against dismissal to the Professors; attempted, though in vain, to obtain free and obligatory primary education, introduced contemporary history into public education, and started secondary courses for girls.

Shortly after (1864) the Labour Laws which have been mentioned above were passed in favour of unions.

If the Emperor thought he would gain liberal sympathies by the new orientation of his policy, he could flatter himself that he had partly succeeded. Émile Ollivier detached himself from the republican group, and with some former opponents of different shades of opinion

formed a Third Party, which rallied to the Empire, encouraged by some concessions with democratic tendencies.

The Third Party in 1867 (19 January) inspired Napoleon to write an "imperial letter," giving the Chambers the right of interpellation (or criticizing Ministers), and delegating Ministers to defend the acts of the Government before Parliament. The letter also promised laws favourable to the Press and to the right of public meeting. These promises were only partially kept. The right of interpellation was limited ; the laws regarding the press and the right to hold meetings did not come up to the hopes based on their announcement. The authorization necessary for the publication of a newspaper and the right of suppressing it were withdrawn, but repression of Press offences persisted and they were tried before Police tribunals. As to the right to hold meetings, it was only recognized for non-political and for electoral gatherings, while the Government reserved the right to veto these.

The same year Marshal Niel proposed obligatory military service, but the Legislative Body wished to retain exemptions. They were abolished, however, in the case of the mobile division of the National Guard, which could only be called up in time of war.

The Empire Becomes Parliamentary—The Opposition increased till in the 1869 elections it gained ninety seats. Ollivier, with his Third Party enlarged by elements favourable to the Empire, formed a "Right Centre" of a hundred and sixteen members which united with the rest of the Opposition in the demand that the Government should be held responsible to Parliament. By the *Senatus-Consultum* of September 8th, 1869, Napoleon III made his Empire parliamentary ; the right of interpellation was completed and Ministers made responsible ; the laws, their amendments and the budget were proposed and voted by the Legislative Body. On January 2nd, 1870, Émile Ollivier was called upon to form a Ministry,

which he recruited from the Third Party; but the Opposition remained unyielding and closed their ranks more firmly from day to day. The newspapers helped to make their opinions known: Victor Hugo, still in exile, published the "Rappel"; Delescluze, the "Reveil"; Rochefort, the "Lanterne"; Eugène Pelletan, the "Tribune." The republican party was increased by such notable men as Léon Gambetta, Clémenceau, Jules Ferry, Floquet, and Brisson. The revolutionaries were also getting organized under Rigault and Félix Pyat; while the claims of the workers were defined at the International Congresses. Mere imperial promises, of which the acts which should have realized them always fell short, could not calm all this agitation.

New Imperial Constitution—Napoleon III wished, however, to give evidence once more of his conversion to liberalism by the elaboration of a new Constitution, which he issued by means of the "senatus-consultum" of April 20th, 1870. It made definite the powers of the two Assemblies, and gave to the people alone, at the suggestion of the Emperor, the right to change the Constitution. The people were called upon to give their opinion on the reform by plebiscite on May 8th, 1870; when seven and a half million votes were in favour and one and a half million against the new Constitution. But this imperial victory was only factitious. The popular demonstrations at the funeral of Victor Noir, assassinated by a cousin of the Emperor's, had proved this some months before (12 January, 1870). Napoleon felt hostility increasing round him. To regain popularity, the glory of a victorious war was needed. The Empress, who wished to keep the throne for her son, advised him to undertake it.

Origin of the 1870-71 War—The ambitions of the Prussian Royal family unfortunately gave him the opportunity he sought. A Hohenzollern had been a candidate for

the Spanish throne, but had retired when the French Government expressed opposition. The lack of skill of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Grammont (lack of skill which was perhaps a provocation, for he wished for war), opened the way to conflict irrevocably, by demanding an undertaking from the King of Prussia, to which he could not agree. The great craftsman of German unity, Bismarck, who hoped to see his political dreams realized in a victory of Prussia over France, took advantage of this diplomatic incident to render hostilities inevitable. Thiers, and some Republicans,—Gambetta, Favre, Grévy,—tried to prevent war and counselled calmness (15 July). The Legislative Body insulted them, and gave full power to the Government, who the evening before had decided to call up military reserves, and who asked for credits for war. These were granted by two hundred and forty-five votes to ten, and five abstentions. Ollivier declared he took the responsibility with "a light heart," and the Minister for War, Lebœuf, asserted that the French army was ready.

France Declares War on Prussia (19 July, 1870)—On July 19th, 1870, France declared war on Prussia. No one interposed either to prevent it or to support one or other of the belligerents, for Lord Granville, in England's name, obtained the adhesion of all the peoples of Europe to a League of Neutrals.

CHAPTER XXI

THE WAR OF 1870-71. THE COMMUNE

French Military Reverses—From the beginning, the French army, disorganized and lacking in everything necessary, was beaten by its marvellously-prepared adversaries. The Prussians, followed by contingents from all the States of Germany, entered Alsace and Lorraine by August. The army of Metz, under Bazaine, allowed itself to be shut in in that town. Another army, under Marshal MacMahon, went to its aid, but was beaten at Sedan, and the Emperor was forced to capitulate (2 September). He was made a prisoner and gave up his hundred thousand men to the enemy.

The Republic Proclaimed, September 4th, 1870—On September 3rd the news of the military disaster reached Paris. The Republic was proclaimed and the deputies formed a Provisional Government, "the Government for National Defence." General Trochu, Governor of Paris, was its president, and its most prominent members were Gambetta, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Crémieux, and Picard. The Provisional Government assumed power to organize the defence of the country, while awaiting the regular convoking of an Assembly. It sat at Paris, but sent a delegation of three of its members to Tours. The Provisional Government, through the voice of Jules Favre, declared it would not yield "one stone of a French fortress, nor an inch of her territory." Peace negotiations

between Jules Favre and Bismarck came to nothing. The German army was then before Paris. In vain Thiers sought the intervention of other European States, through missions sent to London, to Venice, to Florence, and to St. Petersburg. Paris was invested on September 19th. On October 27th, Bazaine capitulated at Metz with his army of a hundred and seventy-three thousand men and all his equipment. Gambetta, however, did not despair of saving France. He made a campaign through the parts of the country still unoccupied, for a levy *en masse*, and succeeded in putting into the line six hundred thousand men; but this effort was useless. In the north, the west and the east (where an army had to take refuge in Swiss territory) the French were everywhere defeated. Paris, starving, and bombarded since December 27th, capitulated on January 19th, 1871.

Proclamation of the German Empire—At Versailles, the day before, William, King of Prussia, had been proclaimed German Emperor by the German princes, in the palace of Louis XIV itself. On January 28th an armistice was signed to allow of the convoking of a French National Assembly, which should negotiate the peace. The elections took place all over France on February 8th. The Provisional Government gave up its powers, and the National Assembly, meeting at Bordeaux on February 13th, nominated Thiers the Head of the Executive authority of the Republic and charged him to make a treaty of peace (17 February). Some, like Gambetta, still wished to carry on the war, but the majority was against them.

Germany demanded Alsace, part of Lorraine, and an indemnity of five milliards. The town of Belfort was left to France with the proviso that the German troops should occupy Paris until the ratification of the preliminaries of the peace by the Assembly. The Treaty having been ratified immediately (1 March), the next day the German army left the capital.

Treaty of Frankfort, May 10th, 1871—The final Treaty was signed at Frankfort, in spite of the protests of Alsace and Lorraine representatives in the Assembly, on May 10th, 1871.

On this date, battle raged round about the capital between the revolutionaries of the Commune and the Government troops. The causes of the movement known as the "Commune" were numerous. The people, weary of a war which betrayed the incapacity of its directors, wished to become their own masters and to end it honestly for the Nation. The election of the National Assembly had disappointed them. Its attitude was so monarchist that it appeared to represent a new form of royalty. The Government had, besides, shown its distrust for Paris by establishing itself at Versailles.

Disappointment of the People Provokes the Revolution of the Commune—The people were suffering materially from the siege and from its consequences, when the Assembly, adjourning the law of rents, refused to prorogue the payment of bills due, and abolished the pay of 1.50 fr. per day, given to the National Guard. The working-classes, who love clearly-defined issues, wished to work a truly revolutionary revolution, which should definitely establish a new state of things, based on justice and equality.

The National Guard remained in Paris under arms, and it was they who set the movement going. After the battle of Champigny, they had formed a central Committee, which defended their interests and which had decided to protect the republic against all attempts at reaction. On March 3rd the forty-five members of the Central Committee resolved to safeguard the Paris government. They once more proclaimed their Republican faith, formed federations of battalions and nominated generals. On the 10th they called on the soldiers to join the republic. Thiers replied to this manifestation

by nominating Colonel Valentin to the Prefecture of the Police on the 14th, then, on the 18th, he wished to have the troops remove the hundred and seventy cannon, bought by subscription, which the National Guard had transported from the artillery park on the Place Wagram to the heights of Montmartre, the Place des Vosges and the Buttes Chaumont. The soldiers, instead of carrying out the Government commission, fraternized with the insurgents and raised the butt-end of their muskets in the air. Their General, Lecomte, and an unpopular General of the National Guard, Clément Thomas, were taken by the men and shot the same evening.

Versailles versus Paris—Thiers decided to defend Paris from Versailles, where he installed the garrison. The capital was then entirely in the hands of the Central Committee, which took possession of the Hôtel de Ville and formed a Ministry. Most of the Paris Mayors supported the Central Committee. Municipal elections to organize the Commune were favourable to the Revolutionaries (26 March). The Central Committee retained authority. The Revolutionary government expressed its desire that the autonomy of the Commune, without the collectivist régime, should be extended to the whole of France, each Commune having its own budget and its own National Guard.¹ Only the towns of Lyons, Marseilles, St. Etienne, Limoges, Creusot and Narbonne, however, rose in response, and the Government at Versailles immediately suppressed these risings.

Principles of the Commune—The principles controlling the Commune were conformable to those of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International Association of Workers. They were:—(1) The freedom of the citizen; the press; the rights of meeting and association; free lay education. (2) The organization of credit,

¹ A delegation of Federated Communes was to act as a connecting link.

of exchanges and of groups, in such a way as to guarantee to the worker the whole of the profit from his work.

(3) From the municipal point of view, the organization of the army, the police and of public health.

The Commune adopted the red flag, the universal Republican symbol, which allowed of welcome to all strangers. It proclaimed itself the Government of the workers, for universal brotherhood. In order to be entirely consistent in its internationalist principles, the Commune abolished conscription and only kept, as an armed force at Paris, the National Guard, composed of all able-bodied men. The column in the Place Vendôme, crowned with a statue of Napoleon, a permanent insult of the conquerors to the conquered, was destroyed.

The Church was separated from the State, the ecclesiastical budget abolished, the hospitals laicized, the possessions of the different religious bodies turned over to the nation. Sums owing for tenants in furnished rooms were remitted and the annulling of leases for six months was admitted for the lessees. The sale of objects deposited at the pawnbrokers was suspended.

Versailles began hostilities against the Commune on April 2nd. The Commune replied by marching against Versailles. The federate prisoners were shot without trial by the Thiers Government. The Commune replied by the decree of April 5th, which decided that any accomplice of the Government of Versailles should be tried within forty-eight hours, and that the accused who were retained should be considered as hostages of the Paris people. To one execution of the partisans of the Commune the reply should be three executions of the partisans of Versailles; but the jury should judge among the prisoners from the Versailles army who should be set at liberty and who should be taken as hostages. These measures and other exceptional ones were taken for the

defence of the Commune in danger. The men elected for the nine Commissions, corresponding to the nine great services,¹ saw their Executive power maintained ; but under the threat of the army of Versailles, which, led by MacMahon, was besieging Paris, the Commune nominated a Committee of Public Safety, composed of five members, responsible only to the Commune and armed with very extensive powers. The army of the Commune was rapidly organized by Cluseret and Rossel, then by Delescluze. It was beaten several times near Paris, but offered valiant resistance elsewhere.

The Army of Versailles Enters Paris, May 21st, 1871—On May 21st, however, the army of Versailles gained entry into Paris by a surprise. Civil War raged in the streets for a week. It was then that, desperate, and retaliating for the acts of savagery committed by the Versailles army, the federates burnt the public buildings which recalled a régime they wished to abolish—the Tuileries, Audit Office, the Legion of Honour ; and that, by way of reprisals for the execution without trial of some Commune prisoners, and some wounded who had been killed, the hostages,—amongst them Mgr. Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and the President, Bonjean,—were shot.

On May 27th the army of Versailles was master of Paris ; and the conquerors took heavy vengeance on the conquered. It was not enough for Thiers to have fifteen to thirty thousand insurgents shot ; he had further, after having triumphed, almost forty thousand persons arrested, the greater part on calumnious denunciations. They

¹ Those elected to the nine Commissions of the Commune were :—Cluseret, Delegate for War ; Jourde, for finance ; Paschal Grousset for foreign affairs ; Viardaux, for supplies ; Raoul Rigaud, for general security ; Vaillant, for education ; Frankel, for exchange ; Andrieu, for public services ; Protot, for law and order.

were judged individually by the Councils of War, for Paris and the Departments of Seine and Seine-et-Oise were under martial law, which supplanted the ordinary civil jurisdiction.

Reprisals of the Versailles Government—The right of pardon exercised by the Head of the Executive power was subordinated to the advice of a Commission of fifteen members, nominated by the National Assembly. There were a hundred and ten death sentences; one thousand one hundred and ninety-seven condemned to deportation in a fortified area (in New Caledonia); three thousand four hundred and forty-six condemned simply to deportation; one thousand three hundred and twenty-one to detention; three hundred and thirty-three to banishment; ninety-four to hard labour for life; a hundred and seventy-nine to hard labour for a period; two thousand six hundred and seventy to prison; fifty-nine to imprisonment in a house of correction; and a hundred and seventeen were put under the supervision of the headquarters police. The Councils of War operated methodically till 1876.

Thiers, President of the Republic, August 31st, 1871—On August 31st, 1871, the National Assembly, declaring itself Constituent, nominated Thiers, President of the Republic by four hundred and ninety-one votes to ninety-four. He had to name the Ministers, but was himself also responsible to the Assembly.

CHAPTER XXII

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

An indication of the kind of régime to be set up in France had been given in the preceding month by the by-elections, which in forty-six Departments had returned thirty-nine republicans ; but even more than the republican spirit of the country or of the Assembly, it was quarrels between parties and also between individual members of the same party which led to the choice of the republican form of Government.

The Republic Chosen as the Form of Government Causing Least Division—A Republic was the Government which caused least division, but in the opinion of some of its adherents it was only a provisional form, and was a subject of discussion for several years. The ignoble end of the Empire allowed of no hope among its partisans of a return to the régime to which they were attached.

Royalist Intrigues—The royalists alone were a cause of fear to the republicans. The Prince de Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale, the natural representatives of the régime of Louis Philippe, had been named deputies, whilst the Count de Chambord, posthumous son of the Duke de Berry, defender of the monarchy as Charles X had conceived it, had not renounced the throne of France. An honest man, but politically unskilful, he discouraged French opinion from rallying to his cause by his energy in defending traditions and out-of-date prejudices ; and,

in spite of pressure from a great part of his following, he refused to accept the tricolour flag.

Two Royalist Pretenders : Count de Chambord and Count de Paris—The royalists appeared most numerous in the Assembly, where they formed three groups : the extreme right, gathering round the Count de Chambord ; the legitimist right, favouring the Count de Paris ; and the right centre, comprising the parliamentary Orleanists. In opposition to these were the left centre, a conservative party rallying the moderates ; the left with Grévy and the already tried republicans ; and the extreme left of the democrats with Gambetta as their real leader. It was the religious question that most divided the parties. The right was clerical and the left stood for the secular State.

Thiers' past could offer no republican guarantee ; he represented the transition between what the ancient régime was and what the new might have stood for. He expressed his formula of government in a message on November 13th, 1872 : " All governments ought to be conservative, and no society could live without a Government which was so. The Republic must be conservative or it will not last." The National Assembly had several reasons for giving the executive power into Thiers' hands ; the important parties agreed in condemning the policy of the Empire, and Thiers was opposed to the war ; in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, who formed the majority in the Assembly, Thiers represented order, because he had opposed the civil war ; furthermore, he agreed with all in working for the material reconstruction of France. Thiers naturally leant for support on the centre parties, since his mandate was bound to win him the most convinced republicans of the Assembly. Royalist opposition was calmed by the recall of the Princes of the Orleans family whom Napoleon had exiled, and by the restoration of their possessions.

Military Laws—Under the Presidency of Thiers the Assembly concentrated on laws tending to repair the military disaster of 1870-71.

A military law was voted (1872), which enforced five years' military service for all Frenchmen, except teachers and ecclesiastics; but young men with the University diploma of bachelor of arts or science, could be volunteers before their fixed time, and were required only to serve one year. After service, each man was four years in the reserves, five years in the territorial army and six years in the territorial reserves.

Financial Laws—The heaviest task of the Government, however, was to try to meet the financial deficit, and to procure further money to pay the indemnity of five milliards, the condition of the evacuation of French territory. The tax on incomes could not be voted, but a number of indirect taxes were created, on sugar, alcohol, coffee, matches, paper, railroad transport, registering taxes and duties on movable goods, credits and business returns. It was a financial system of this kind that was resorted to after the war of 1914, for the French are afraid of heavy direct taxation, and accept more willingly an increase in the price of indispensable merchandise.

Money having become scarce, as at the present day, just in the same way a paper currency was imposed, of bank-notes of 25, 20, 5 and 2 francs. For the indemnity Thiers asked for two milliards from a loan in the form of 5 per cent. stock. The subscription was twice covered in June, 1871. A new loan of three milliards was issued in 1872 at 6.17 per cent. interest. The subscription opened on July 28th, 1872, and was closed on the evening of the 29th, and produced 43,816,096,551 francs 50 cents, a sum which gained the anticipated evacuation of French territory.

Thiers, who on several occasions has been seen to be

lacking in republican convictions, was nevertheless capable of adapting himself to the evolution of opinion. Thus he said,—“The Republic exists; it is the legal Government of the country. To wish for anything else would be a new revolution, and the most formidable of all”; and, “The reason which makes me decide to support the Republic, old partisan as I am of the monarchy, is that to-day monarchy is impossible.” He surrendered, therefore, to the Republican movement, but with the intention of restraining it. The monarchists did not understand this necessity. Thiers having chosen a Ministry from the left centre, it summoned him to return to that conservative policy which would indeed have been his own choice.

Resignation of Thiers, May 24th, 1872—He saw the impossibility of governing under these circumstances and on May 24th handed in his resignation. It was accepted, and the same day—the left abstaining from voting,—the candidate of the right, Marshal MacMahon, was elected by three hundred and ninety votes out of three hundred and ninety-two cast.

MacMahon President of the Republic—He was a brave general, but an utterly incapable politician, and simply a plaything in the hands of the party which elected him. The right wished to make use of him to prepare for the return of royalty. The partisans of the old régime worked for the reconciliation of the two royalist parties, and achieved it. The Count de Paris yielded up his claims to the Count de Chambord; but the latter's obstinate insistence on the white flag, which France could no longer accept, resulted in the collapse of the conspiracy.

The Septennat—The royalists did not regard themselves as beaten. While awaiting more favourable circumstances, they decided to keep their man MacMahon in power by electing him for seven years. This was the

“Septennat.” They had, however, to resign themselves to giving a Constitution to the country. Thanks to the tenacity of men such as Gambetta, and in spite of the strongest opposition, the phrase “Government of the Republic” which was deleted from official texts, just as the symbolic figure-heads were removed from the municipal bureaux, was retained in the Wallon amendment, passed by a majority of one.

Republican Constitution of 1875—The so-called “1875 Constitution,” which, with amendments, still obtains in France (in spite of the modifications of July 22nd, 1879 and of August 1st, 1884), was not all of a piece, an entirety, but the putting together of three Constitutional laws:—the law for the organization of the Senate, voted on February 24th, 1785; the law for the organization of public authorities, voted on February 25th; and the law concerning the inter-relations of public authorities, voted July 16th; completed by the laws on the elections of deputies (November 30th) and on the reorganization of the Council of State. It would be best at this point to summarize the present constitution of France.

Actual Order of Things in France—Every Frenchman of twenty-one years of age and over, not disqualified by a penal condemnation, is an elector, if he has had his name inscribed on the electoral list to which his residence belongs. The law of February 25th gave the power to two Assemblies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate, in origin, comprised three hundred members, of at least forty years of age, two hundred and twenty-five of whom were elected by the Departments and the Colonies, and seventy-five of them for life. The former were elected for nine years, and the seventy-five were nominated by the National Assembly.

The appointment of Senators for life was abolished by the law of December 9th, 1884. The Senators are elected by the deputies, the general Councillors, the

Councillors of the arrondissement, and the delegates from municipal Councils. The return of Alsace and Lorraine to France increased by fourteen the number of senators. The Senate works out the laws, with the Chamber of Deputies; but the law dealing with Finance has to be presented by the Chamber before being discussed by the Senate. The latter cannot, like the Chamber, be dissolved by the President of the Republic. When such a measure is decided upon by the President, the Senate must approve it for it to be carried out. The Senate can meet as the High Court and treat crimes against the security of the State. (Up to 1920 there were only five sessions of the High Court; the last being for the Caillaux case.)

The Chamber of Deputies, composed of six hundred and twenty-six members, is elected for four years by universal suffrage and by ballot in the arrondissement. Candidates must be at least twenty-five years of age and in enjoyment of all their civil and political rights. The Deputies benefit from Parliamentary "immunity" and cannot be prosecuted without the authorization of the Chamber. The Chambers hold two sessions a year and are called by a decree of the President of the Republic, who possesses Executive power. He is elected every seven years by the Senate and the Chamber assembled in Congress. "He controls the armed forces, nominates for civil and military posts, takes the chair at national celebrations, receives the envoys of foreign nations and negotiates and ratifies treaties."

The Ministers are chosen by the President of the Republic; they are responsible to the Chambers. The Ministers hold secret Councils, known as "Cabinet Councils," under the Presidency of the President of the Republic. The number of Ministers is variable.

The Council of State is a heritage from the old order. Under the presidency of the Keeper of the Seals, the

Minister of Justice, it is divided into five sessions : two for litigation, and the legislative sections of the Interior, Finance and Public Works.

The Council of State is consulted by the President of the Republic and by the Ministers, either obligatorily in certain cases, or for its opinion. In matters of administrative jurisdiction it is judge in the first and last resort. The Court of Accounts, also monarchic in origin, supervises the public accounts and points out errors to the legislative and executive authorities.

The National Assembly broke up on December 31st, 1875. In 1876 the different methods of election gave a Chamber favourable to the Republic, and to the Senate a majority which would have been royalist without the Senators for life, chosen for the most part amongst the republicans by the Coalition of Republicans and Imperialists against the royalists. MacMahon did not dare to resist universal suffrage, so formed a Ministry of the moderate left, over which Jules Simon presided ; but he continued to seek inspiration for himself only in the advice of enemies of the Republic. However, as the Chamber had voted a resolution against certain ultramontane manifestations, which sought to restore the temporal power of the Pope and to induce the intervention of France in Italian affairs,¹ MacMahon blamed Jules Simon for not having opposed the vote, in a letter published in the " Journal Officiel " (French " Hansard "), May 16th, 1877.

Personal Action of the President : May 16th, 1877— Jules Simon resigned and MacMahon formed a royalist Ministry under the Duke de Broglie (17 May). The Ministry prorogued the Chamber, and then pronounced it dissolved when it refused the Ministry its confidence.

¹ It was in the course of this discussion that Gambetta uttered his famous words :—" Clericalism : that is the enemy."

It then postponed the date of the elections, in order to bring more effective pressure to bear on the electors. After securing the elections he desired, MacMahon removed the Republican Prefects and Sub-Prefects and replaced them by his own political tools; the clergy took an active part in the country against the Republic. The elections ought then to have been decisive for the régime. After they had taken place, however,—as Gambetta, the chief author of the last Republican Chamber, put it, the President was bound either “to submit or to resign” (*se soumettre ou se démettre*). Three hundred and eighteen republicans and two hundred monarchists were elected. Broglie’s Cabinet resigned. The Marshal first thought of resistance by forming, outside the Assemblies, a new Ministry from the right. The Chamber refused to enter into relations with it. MacMahon submitted and formed a republican Ministry belonging to the left centre.

The evolution of the country grew steadily more marked. The Senatorial elections of 1879 gave a republican majority. This reawakening to social life corresponded with an economic effort, which found expression in the World Exhibition of 1878, the first in Paris since the war. MacMahon, an honest man, could not follow the movement of which he disapproved.

Resignation of MacMahon, January 30th, 1879—The majority having wished to take away their command from Generals hostile to the Republic, MacMahon resigned (30 January, 1879).

Jules Grévy, President of the Republic—No other candidate being presented, Jules Grévy was elected President of the Republic, and Gambetta became President of the Chamber. The Assemblies returned to Paris; and, as a symbolic crowning of the new policy of the Government, the date of July 14th became that of the national fête (1880). Gambetta was called to the Ministry (June, 1881). He obtained from the Chambers complete

amnesty for insurgents of the Commune, and, what could hardly be so much appreciated by posterity, their agreement to the Tunis expedition ; but, having attempted for the election to replace the ballot of the arrondissement by the ballot by list (choice of names), he was defeated and resigned (26 January, 1882). He died on December 31st of the same year.

Jules Ferry—The man on whom Gambetta's political mantle fell was Jules Ferry, both as President of the Council and as Minister of Public Instruction. He had a measure passed in favour of free and obligatory primary education (1882), and brought forward another forbidding unauthorized religious bodies to teach in France, because these bodies, and in particular the Jesuits, made use of their teaching to oppose the Republic. Jules Ferry, to achieve this work of laicizing education, published decrees reviving ancient laws which dissolved the Jesuits, and required from other bodies a demand for Government authorization. The religious bodies having refused to submit, the Government decreed their dissolution (1880). Lay education, honestly understood, demanded on the part of those who professed it, scrupulous care for neutrality in teaching, were it only to oppose, by an example of tolerance, the distortion of the child's mind by the parallel distortion of truth in the narrow conventual instruction. Thus Jules Ferry said in his circular to teachers of November 17th, 1883 :—" You are the auxiliary of, and in some respects the substitute for, the father ; speak to his child, then, as you would like your own to be spoken to ; with vigour and authority whenever an incontestible truth is in question, or a precept of public morals ; with the greatest reserve as soon as you touch upon a religious feeling, of which you are not the judge. If at times you should be embarrassed to know just to what point you may go in your moral instruction, here is a practical rule to which you may hold ; when you are about to

give a precept to your pupils, or some general rule of conduct, ask yourself whether there exists, to your knowledge, a single good man who could be hurt by what you are going to say. If so, refrain from saying it. Ask yourself if one father—yes, a single one,—present in your class and listening to you, could honestly refuse his assent to what he would hear you utter. If so, refrain from saying it ; if not, speak out boldly ; for then, what you are going to say to the child comes, not from your own wisdom, but from the wisdom of the human race ; it is one of those universal ideas which, in many centuries of civilization, have become part of the heritage of humanity. However narrow such a circle of action may seem to you, thus marked out, make it a point of honour not to go beyond it. Remain on this side of the boundary, rather than risk overstepping it. You can never be too scrupulous in touching that secret and delicate thing, which is a child's conscience."

Ferry, as well as the education bill, passed others recognizing freedom for public meetings and the press (1881). Under pressure from the extreme left, he accepted the revision of the Constitution, but he wished it to be partial and "opportunistic" ; hence he and his partisans were known as "opportunists," whilst those who wished for a radical reform (suppression of the Senate, separation of Church and State, tax on incomes) were the "radicals." The modifications of the Constitution of 1875 were practically limited to the abolition of senators for life, and the increase of senatorial electors or delegates.

Colonial Politics—Jules Ferry resumed the colonial policy inaugurated by the July Monarchy with the conquest of Algeria (1830-47), a policy explicable materially, if not excusable morally, for an overpeopled country, which is not the case of France. The country at first did not easily accept this modern form of imperialism. It loved military glory, but on the European field of

battle, and did not become enthusiastic about expeditions to Asia and Africa. In these it saw only the cruel naked truth, which escaped it in the other wars, called national : the loss of men, the expense, the useless effort. Even when such conquests are accomplished, the French people attached to their soil do not profit by them, for they dislike leaving their country, where they might all live comfortably, were it efficiently governed. Colonial enterprises, then, for France, are essentially the work of business men carried out by ambitious military leaders. In the colonial scramble, into which, under pretext of carrying civilization, but in reality to exploit countries feebly defended, the European peoples were then plunging, France, thanks to Jules Ferry, came in as second, with England leading the way. Against the right and left wings, Jules Ferry defended his colonial policy with a cynicism denoted by such phrases as the following :—“ France should be a great country exercising on the destinies of Europe all the influence which is her right, spreading this influence throughout the world and carrying her language, her customs, her flag, her arms, her genius everywhere possible. Colonies are for rich countries an advantageous investment.” And he brought into these discussions the “ national honour,” which had nothing to do with these questions of finance, commerce, and industry. From 1881–1885 he set up the French Protectorate in Tunis, which won him Italian hostility ; began the conquest of the Congo, the Soudan, and Madagascar, and, without Parliamentary consent, began the conquest of Tonkin, which involved France in a war with China, and nearly ended in military disaster. On this subject Jules Ferry was violently attacked in Parliament, notably by the radical leader, Clémenceau, and had to retire after a vote of want of confidence by the Chamber (30 March, 1885). Divisions arose among the republican groups, moderates and radicals, who had

become so hostile to each other that Jules Ferry declared the peril was from the left.

Return of Life in the Monarchist Parties—The elections of 1885, made by "ballot by list," nearly resulted in a monarchist triumph. The Prince Imperial had died in 1879, in the British army, on an expedition against the Zulus; the legitimist representative, the Count de Chambord, had also died on August 24th, 1883. The Bonapartists, however, with Prince Jerome Napoleon and his son Victor, and the Orleanists with the Count de Paris and his son the Duke d'Orleans, were so active in agitation that a law was voted forbidding the heads of families who had reigned in France, as well as their eldest sons, to set foot on French soil (June, 1886).

The Government being unstable, intrigues and coalitions directed politics; ministry succeeded ministry. The republican bourgeoisie were compromised by an affair of trafficking with decorations, in which the son-in-law of President Grévy, Wilson, was involved. Acting on the injunction of the Chamber, the President of the Republic, who had been re-elected on December 2nd, 1885, handed in his resignation (2 December, 1887). His successor was Sadi Carnot.

Sadi Carnot, President (1887-1894)—This honest man possessed none of the qualities of a statesman which the circumstances demanded. He was republican by tradition, as the grandson of the Conventional who had organized the armies of the Great Revolution, but he was incapable of giving any new lustre to the Republic, or even of defending it effectively against the adversaries always lying in wait. A coalition of anti-republican forces attempted a violent assault on the established order, making use of the ambition of Boulanger, a general who had managed to attain popularity by his physique, his affable manners, and his ready speech. He had first

been defended by the radicals, who believed in his civic professions ; but, becoming Minister for War (1886), he had raised hopes in the Chauvinists, by his imprudent attitude, that he would lead France to the "revanche" against the German victory of 1870-71.

The "Boulangist" Adventure—His former republican partisans realized the danger, and withdrew their confidence. He was not given a place in a second Ministry, and, to remove him far from all political action, he was named Commandant of an army corps, which necessitated his living in the centre of France at Clermont-Ferrand. But Boulanger made this town a centre of intrigues. He was pensioned off and could then devote himself entirely to the realization of his plan of dictatorship. He drew support as much from discontented republicans as from royalists and Bonapartists, and he formed, with his friends, the revisionist and national party, which desired the dissolution of the Chambers and the election of the President of the Republic by universal suffrage. Boulanger stood in all the legislative elections between March, 1888 and 1889, and was elected six times. The elections of January 27th, 1889, even made him a Deputy of Paris. This disguised form of plebiscite, subsidized by royalist funds, at length really disturbed the body of republicans who united against him. Ballot by list was abolished, and for a candidate to stand for election in several constituencies was forbidden. Finally, Boulanger was accused of plotting against the security of the State and prosecuted before the High Court of Justice ; but to avoid arrest he fled to Belgium (March, 1889), where he stayed in spite of sentence of deportation passed against him for contumacy on August 14th, 1889. The elections which followed (September, 1889) went against him. His adventure finished in his suicide (30 September, 1891) ; but calm was achieved by 1889, the date of the World Exhibition at Paris, and it was possible to cele-

brate with much pomp and circumstance the centenary of the Revolution.

In spite of the clear-cut divisions between parties, the conversion of monarchists to the republican form of government, and the progress of socialism from the disappearance of Boulanger up to the Ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau (1899), the moderate republicans retained power. During the period, however, several political crises unsettled the country. First, the Panama financial scandal compromised some members of Parliament, who had traded on their public position. They were arraigned in the Assize Courts and then the Chambers named two Commissions of Enquiry to clear up the matter (1892-93 and 1897-98). About the same time anarchist attempts began, of which the best-known victim was President Carnot, assassinated at Lyons on June 24th, 1894.

Anarchist Attempts—To combat "anarchism," under which head was included every kind of new social claim that appeared, repressive special measures were passed, against which radicals and socialists protested. Social as well as literary and artistic anarchy and the conflict of violent new ideas, coincided, as under the July Monarchy, with the triumph of the bourgeois Government, for it cannot be said that the Panama scandal was a social battle within the bounds of the Parliament: it was the tangible proof of the social decomposition of a triumphant class, whose appetite, although temporarily stopped, could never be satiated.

Conservatives Brought Round—The life of a Government, it appears, composed of egocentric and mediocre men, does not correspond in any degree with the stirring of ideas in a country. The powers that be do not realize the birth and gradual blossoming around them of the intellectual revolt which will be their ruin. Certainly, these first stirrings of new thought are over-noisy and violent in display, but they rapidly take shape as an

original and productive force. The party of action organized themselves in a manner to back the moderates. The royalists not being able to win an open victory against the Republic, mostly became "conservatives." The Pope, Leo XIII (Encyclical of February, 1892), advised even the Catholics to support the form of Government accepted by the country.

The Socialists—On the other hand, socialism really became a party, and adapted its principles to circumstances, whether its followers belonged to the revolutionary section, hostile to any contact with the bourgeoisie ; or whether they were reformers, ready to profit by any liberty they could acquire from a democratic government. The country was feeling out its path. Social calm was only apparent ; the shock of ideas was to be expected ere long. If it is permissible to assert that there are injustices of different categories, it may be remarked that it was a fact of mediocre importance which provoked the contest ; in any case the effect soon exceeded the cause.

We have just seen that the spirit of authority, and narrow tradition, the principle of the superiority of some men over others, and its corollary, the right of some men to dominate and exploit the greater number, no longer dared to express itself in monarchic or theocratic demonstrations ; it took the more hypocritical and more dangerous form still, of "nationalism," always ready to drag into hatred and strife those whom she succeeds in recruiting to defend her cause. A polemical writer of talent, Edouard Drumont, had just discovered in France a new expression of nationalism—"anti-Semitism." With the cry "France for the French !" he set out to expel the Jews, whom he accused of crimes against society, although they had only been able to live freely in France for less than a century.

The Dreyfus Case—A Jewish officer, Captain Alfred

Dreyfus, was accused in 1894 of having given up to Germany documents relating to the national defence of France. The Court-Martial judged him in secret session and condemned him, on secret evidence, to military degradation and deportation for life. Honest men, like Senator Scheurer-Kestner and Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart, having become assured of his innocence and of the guilt of Commandant Esterhazy, one of the Clericals, sought to make the country share their conviction ; but they were encouraged only by the " intellectuals " and the free-thinkers, and by socialists who realized that injustice even to a " bourgeois " was an outrage on their principles. Thus the standard was set up of those who defended the rights of the individual of whatever race, against the champions of the State prerogative, the principle of authority, the infallibility of the Church and the Army. Through " esprit de corps " the military staff became a manufactory of falsehoods against Dreyfus. " I would rather," said a nationalist, " be wrong with my country than be right in opposition to her." And his " country " was, for him, the decision of two courts-martial.

Casimir-Périer, President, 1894-1895—The Dreyfus " affair " began under the Presidency of Casimir-Périer (1894-5), who succeeded Carnot, but who soon resigned because he found the powers allowed him by the Constitution too limited.

Félix Faure, President (1895-1899). Émile Loubet, President (1899-1906)—The " affair " dragged on under Félix Faure and ended under Loubet, after a revision of the case, obtained with difficulty, then a fresh condemnation by court-martial, followed by pardon.

Armand Fallières, President (1906-1913)—The original sentence was only reversed in 1906 (2 July) under the Presidency of Fallières. The Dreyfus case resulted in a modification of Government policy. To appease all parties, Waldeck-Rousseau formed a " Ministry of Con-

ciliation " (1899-1902) called the " Republican defence," which contained members of all shades of republican opinion. Millerand, the first Socialist to enter a French government, holding office at the Board of Trade, sat side by side with the Minister for War, General Galliffet, who in 1871 had been prominent in the severe repression of the Commune. Commonly, the composition of such a mixed Ministry most profits the conservatives, by compromising and paralysing the parties of action. The rule was not broken in this case. The participation of a socialist in the Government hampered the normal progress of the Socialist party. As to the radicals, who had abandoned the programme of the revision of the constitution, they were thenceforth in all the Ministries, often even in the majority, but only maintaining those of their principles—and this only till the war—relating to the struggle against clericalism. Forgetting that their members had been the first and the most ardent defenders of the republic, they adopted thenceforth a merely opportunist policy.

The Nationalist Plot—The Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry, however, had had to contend again with an attempt at a plot organized by the nationalist elements of all parties of the right wing, but the effort for reaction failed and the conspirators were judged by the High Court and condemned to different penalties. Déroulède, the most honest of those inculpated, but dangerously Chauvinistic for the policy of France, was sentenced to exile (4 January, 1900).

The Law for Religious Associations—Being thus freed from her political enemies, the republic turned to deal with its religious supporters. Waldeck-Rousseau had the Law for Religious Associations passed (1901) which exacted authorization and open declaration for these. Authorization for congregations can only be obtained by law. Groups which had not asked for authorization

had to do so within three months. The Combes Ministry (1902-1905) was summoned to apply this ordinance. It fulfilled its task uncompromisingly. The religious establishments still open after the passing of the law, were closed, as well as those which had preceded it, but had not asked to be authorized. The measures taken gave rise to violent protests and there was some prospect even of religious war. The soldiers and gendarmes had often to enforce respect for the State command. Parliament refused authorization to most of the congregations asking for it, and forbade (Law of July 7th, 1904) authorized congregations to teach. Pope Pius X protested violently, and relations between the Holy See and France became very strained. Finally, on July 29th, 1904, the French Ambassador at the Vatican was recalled. The republican work of opposition to clericalism was completed by the Law separating the Church from the State, proposed by Aristide Briand and passed on December 9th, 1905, which annulled the Concordat of Napoleon I. This law allows the observance of all forms of religion on French territory, but does not favour or subsidize any one. The possessions of the clergy were allotted to groups of citizens formed into associations to aid in the maintenance of public worship. The law necessitated an inventory of the possessions of the Church, which gave rise to fresh conflicts between the civil power and the faithful. The Pope condemned separation by an encyclical, "*Vehementer nos*," and opposed the formation of the religious associations (11 February, 1906). The possessions of the clergy reverted to the State, but the faithful could dispose gratuitously of the churches and their furniture.

There was no other important political encounter in France between the end of the religious controversy and the war of 1914.

Social conflicts of some importance took place, such as

the movement of the vine-growers of the South in 1907 ; of those of Champagne (1911) ; and the strike of the sailors and of the railway workers (1911) ; but these were economic in origin. Electoral reform was shuffled out of sight by the deputies, who made the best of the policy of patronage which encouraged the method of ballot then in force. All the interest of French politics from 1905-1914 is in the direction of foreign affairs. During this period the mutters of war were increasing, though they were temporarily stifled with more or less goodwill and mutual accommodation, by the different governments and parties and by political leaders diversely inspired.

The legislative elections of 1913 were dominated by the cares of preparation for the great struggle. The duration of military service had been reduced from three to two years by the law of 1905, but no Frenchman was allowed exemption. The elections of 1913 gave a majority in favour of the return of the "three years'" law. It was opposed by the radicals and socialists and advocated by the nationalist Coalition, as a reply to the recent measures for arming taken by Germany.

CHAPTER XXIII

LABOUR LEGISLATION. POSITION OF WOMEN IN FRANCE

The Third Republic did Little to Improve the Position of Labour—Since the general upheaval caused by the War of 1914 marks the beginning of a new era, some notes on the condition of the workers up to this date are therefore advisable. It must be admitted that the Third Republic did far less than neighbouring countries towards improving the lot of the worker; perhaps because, owing to the necessity of defending itself against numerous adversaries, it was more preoccupied with political than with social questions; or perhaps because, resembling in some degree the 1830 Monarchy, founded by the bourgeois element, it remained the government of a class. The Republic from 1871-1914 was that of men of a certain fortune and of a certain political position, rather than a social republic. It is therefore easy to speak briefly of the labour reforms of the Third Republic.

Law *re* Syndicates (21 March, 1884)—The most important labour law of the government was that of March 21st, 1884, the author being the Minister of the Interior, Waldeck-Rousseau. This law authorized the formation of professional syndicates, which were allowed to raise funds and to have a place of meeting. The Syndicates had the right to unite and to form Labour Exchanges. This right of union allowed the establishment of the powerful

"Confédération Générale du Travail," better known under the initials "C.G.T.," in which the workers' claims found more energetic expression, and whose dissolution was brought about by an arbitrary act of the government since the war. The law of July 31st, 1893, allowed working men's associations to engage in business dealing in manufactured goods and undertakings for the people.

A certain number of measures relative to work were passed to favour the masters rather than to encourage the workers, such as the Higher Council of Labour, founded in 1891, which only included working-men in 1899. In 1891 also, a Ministry of Commerce was founded (Law of July 20th), an office of labour, to collect, co-ordinate and publish all information relative to labour, especially that which concerned the state and development of production, the organization and the remuneration of labour, the relations between labour and capital, the condition of the workman, the comparison of the situation of labour in France and abroad. The law of December 27th, 1892, set up optional arbitration in the conflicts between masters and men. Finally, and similarly inspired, a code of labour and provision for social needs was instituted on December 18th, 1910, and a Ministry of Labour founded. Several detailed laws dealt with conditions of work. Those of 1874, 1892, and 1900 fixed a ten hours' working day, in industrial agreements, for women and children, and forbade women to do night-work or work in mines. Another measure established a weekly rest-day (13 July, 1906). The principle of the eight hours' day was only a result of the Treaty of Versailles, and is not yet wholly applied. Children were not allowed to work before twelve years of age. A system of inspection was started to superintend the application of the labour laws. The law of 1898 made masters responsible for accidents to the workman in the course of his work and granted a pension to the victim or

to his widow and children. In 1893 (law of July 15th), free medical attendance was granted in some cases to the workmen. The law of April 1st, 1898 organized Societies of Mutual Aid for sickness and old age. Obligatory assistance for the aged and the infirm unable to work, was granted on July 16th, 1905.

Law *re* Workers' and Peasants' Pensions (5 April, 1910)—The National Pensions Fund, founded in 1850, was replaced in 1895 by a law which regulated the necessary subscriptions; and lastly, the law of April 5th, 1910, firmly established the system of workers' and peasants' pensions, with obligatory insurance for those earning not more than 3,000 francs per year, and optional insurance for those earning 3,000–5,000 francs per year. The Old Age Pension, fixed first at sixty-five, then at sixty years of age, is made up by obligatory and optional payments by the insured, and by employers' contributions, to which are added by the State, allocations for life.

The Position of Woman in French Society—It must be confessed that the emancipation of women in France has made little progress, because the Frenchwoman has not desired or been sufficiently active about it to obtain it. She has been too often, and too long, contented with the homage paid by men, since first French culture began, to her qualities of elegance, vivacity and wit. She has not sought (we speak of the majority) to acquire others, which might have won her respect and equal treatment, in her relations with her brothers. Throughout the old régime and even in the Revolution, which did not recognize the sex-equality, which one might nevertheless have hoped for from the declaration of the Rights of Man, women remained under men's tutelage. Rights were only granted her by the Civil Code of 1804, and even these were only partial. It was Saint Simon, Fourier, Leroux, Victor Cousin, and the 1848 Revolutionaries, who first tried with energy to plant the standard

of the women's cause in France. The Third Republic did not enfranchise woman ; it only presented her, like favours, with several minor concessions. The French-woman to-day is one of the least emancipated in the world. We have noted the special conditions of work fixed for her by labour legislation. When one reviews the legislation for women, over a period of forty years, one is surprised to find that in France, the boasted land of freedom, it has needed so long to pass such elementary measures of justice, and that so many others which seem natural are still denied. Thus the law of July 27th, 1884, which re-established divorce in France, was the first which put adultery on the part of the man and of the woman on an equal footing, and that of February 6th, 1893, gave civil rights to the woman who had been granted separation, whereas up till then she had to ask of the husband from whom she was separated, authorization for what involved only her own person and her possessions. Up till June 20th, 1896, the husband in broken unions, even if the separation or divorce had been pronounced against him, had the ruling voice in the marriage of the children. Higher rights were, however, recognized for women. The law of December 7th, 1897, allowed them to be witnesses to notarial acts or those touching the civil state ; that of December 1st authorized their taking the oath of a barrister and to practise this profession. Women only became free to dispose of their own wages, even though contributing to keeping up the home, on July 13th, 1907. The right of eligibility to almost all offices is refused them, except on the Higher Councils of Public Education, on the Councils for Primary Education, on the Councils for the Administration of the Bureaux of Public Aids and Benefits, on the Consultative Labour Councils, and on the Councils of Experts for settling trade disputes, to which they can also elect ; as regards the Chambers of Commerce and

Consultative Chambers of the Arts and Manufactures, they can elect, but cannot themselves stand.

Frenchwomen have no Political Rights—The Frenchwoman has no recognized political rights, nor has she expressed any desire to acquire them by such mass demonstrations as force the adversary's opposition. The desire for women's emancipation in France is that of a picked minority. Most Frenchwomen are even less interested than Frenchmen in the great social problems. Yet Frenchwomen through the centuries have shown that they are in no respects the inferiors of their sisters of other nations.

Yet Frenchwomen have Excelled in Art and Letters—In Literature they have been particularly brilliant : in the twelfth century, Marie de France ; in the fifteenth, Christine de Pisan ; in the sixteenth, the Queen of Navarre, and Louise Labbé ; in the seventeenth, Madame de Maintenon, Mme. de Sévigné, Mlle. de Scudéry, Mme. de Motteville, Mme. de Sablé, Mme. de la Fayette, Mme. Deshoulières ; in the eighteenth, Mme. de Caylus, Mme. de Lambert, Mme. de Staal, Mme. du Deffand, Mlle. de Lespinasse, Mme. d'Epinay, Mme. Necker, Mme. Roland ; under the Empire, Mme. de Staël, the valiant adversary of Napoleon I ; under the Restoration, Mme. de Rémusat. The romantic period saw the triumphs of George Sand. Lastly, to-day, women writers rival in quantity and quality their male contemporaries. The greatest French poet to-day is undoubtedly the Countess de Noailles. Her sisters in the art are Renée Vivien, Lucie Delarue Mardrus, etc. It is, however, in the novel, above all, that the contemporary woman writer specializes.

The most important of our novelists are, setting aside preferences,—Gyp, Colette Marcelle Tinayre, Colette Yver, Daniel Lesueur, Marguerite Audoux, Magdeleine Marx, Gérard d'Houville, Jean Bertheroy.

France has also produced numerous women painters : Mme. Vigée Lebrun, Berthe Morisot, Rosa Bonheur, Marie Laurencin, Mme. Agutte, and a number of academic artists who, the painters consider, produce a "drawing-room art." Frenchwomen are not famous in sculpture or in musical composition. Only two names, and these not in the first rank, need be cited for the latter :—Cécile Chaminade and Lily Boulanger ; as though from modesty, woman has confined herself largely to musical performance ; while in dramatic art also she has up till now interpreted rather than created. It is really only quite recently that the attitude of middle-class families in France has become enlightened enough to allow girls to improve their education ; while in the working classes, education for girls has not been facilitated. In the domain of science few women have made themselves known. Mme. Dieulafoy and her husband made valuable investigations for science in the past ; Mme. Curie, Polish in origin but French in education, has equal honour with her husband for the discovery of radium. As one sees, the fame of the Frenchwoman has till now been mingled with that of her husband ; but since the war, it may be stated with pleasure that, while young Frenchmen turn from scientific studies to enter on lucrative careers, Frenchwomen have given themselves up rather to disinterested research, indeed, to the most arduous tasks of all, and one may hope that happy results will crown their endeavour.

Frenchwomen Who have Sacrificed Themselves to Their Ideal—If the old régime evokes in us memories of Ste. Geneviève (whom the Church made patroness of Paris) ; of Joan of Arc, of Jeanne Hachette, and the "Grande Mademoiselle," it is especially since the Revolution that Frenchwomen have played a part in the history of France. The French Revolution period is full of their heroism ; Théroigne de Méricourt, distinguished in the

attack on the Bastille ; Lucile, the noble wife of Camille Desmoulins ; Charlotte Corday, who believed, if foolishly, that she could defend the spirit of the Revolution by stabbing a revolutionary ; Mme. Roland, the shining light of the Gironde. Women showed at that time, in the face of death for their convictions, as much courage as men, whence the saying of Olympe de Gouges, in her declaration of the Rights of Women :—" Woman has the right to stand on the scaffold ; she should also have the right to stand before the House."

Attempts at Women's Emancipation Date in France from the Nineteenth Century—In 1848, amongst the feminist groups formed, the " Vesuvians " and the " Malthusians " must be cited. Mme. Niboyet founded at that time " The Woman's Counsellor," the " Peace of the World," " Women's Voice." Jenny d'Héricourt, under the Second Empire demanded civil rights for women more energetically. Maria Deraisme and Hubertine Auclerc succeeded her, but went further. They founded the journal " The Rights of Woman " as well as the " Woman Citizen." Then appeared " The Women's Journal," an organ of the Society of Free Thought ; " Solidarity," founded by Mme. Maria Martin and Potonie Pierre, and " Equality " by Mme. Vincent, as well as the French group of feminist studies by Mme. Oddo Deflou. The religious groups saw the advantage which might be drawn from the feminist movement and feared lest it should escape their influence ; as a consequence, there appeared " The Forerunner," edited by the Duchess d'Uzès, and " the Society of Christian Feminists " was founded by Mme. Duclos with its journal " Christian Feminism."

After the Dreyfus scandal, Marguerite Durand valiantly led the feminist struggle with her paper " The Fronde " ; but up to the present the feminist papers in France have not had the success they deserve, although journalism has

recruited a number of women of talent in the first rank, among whom must be mentioned Séverine, always the first to fight injustice or champion a fine idea; and during or since the war also, Marcelle Capy and Louise Bodin. One of the chief feminist journals is the "Voix des Femmes" ("Women's Voice"). Recently, at the request of the Third International, the French communist party founded a woman's bureau, with Marthe Bigot and Lucie Colliard as principal militants.

It is not amongst journalists that we must reckon the woman, whose revolutionary zeal was the most ardent and the most efficacious after the Commune and for thirty years of the Third Republic:—Louise Michel, "the red virgin," to whose great heart her adversaries themselves paid homage.

Feminist Congresses, witnessing to the progress of the movement, were held in 1878, on the initiative of Maria Deraisme in 1889, 1892, 1896 and 1898. In 1901, the majority of feminist Societies grouped themselves together in the National Council of French Women.

If duties create rights, women ought to have a different social situation from what is theirs in France, for statistics reveal that Frenchwomen are amongst the greatest workers of the women of the world.

The war of 1914 introduced women as workers into a number of trades, which up till then had been thought improper for them, notably in the factories, and in administrative careers; but too often the wages of women, for equal work, are below those of the men in France. Many working women, to support their corporative claims, are grouped into purely women's or mixed syndicates, which are affiliated to the "C.G.T.," or are independent, i.e. reformist in character.

CHAPTER XXIV

INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS UNDER THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THIRD REPUBLIC

We have deferred speaking of intellectual movements in France under the Second Empire in order to connect them with those of the Third Republic, which continued without any violent hindrance or revolution up to the 1914 epoch,¹ when, like all that was spiritually and morally elevated, they suffered an eclipse of which the effects are not yet exhausted.

Poetry : End of Romanticism—The Second Empire saw the renewed triumph of romanticism of which Victor Hugo (1802–1885), though an exile, remained the great lyric master. Other brilliant members of the circle were the sensitive and rarely-gifted Alfred de Musset (1810–1857) ; Alfred de Vigny (1797–1863), master of solemn and noble rhythm ; Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), and Théodore de Banville (1823–1891), exquisite rhymesters, and Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867), restless but inspired.

The Parnassians—Parnassian poetry, preoccupied entirely with form, succeeded romanticism. Its great representatives were Leconte de Lisle (1818–1894), whose pretensions made his work dull ; Sully Prudhomme (1839–1907), philosopher as much as poet ; the laborious

¹ In dealing with men and events near our own time, it is difficult to judge objectively and without prejudice : our aim in touching briefly on these will be to help the reader to form an opinion rather than to impose ours upon him.

and classically-finished José-Maria de Hérédia (1842-1905); François Coppée (1842-1908), modern but popular in style; and perhaps also the impetuous Catulle Mendès (1841-1909), although he is also allied to romanticism.

Symbolism—Symbolism, the name of which explains its purpose, took the place of Parnassus. Its real leaders were the tender and delicate Paul Verlaine (1844-1896) and Mallarmé (1842-1898), an esoteric and concise poet. After the end of this school no other has prevailed in France, where lyric poetry seems on the decline. Henri de Régnier is a poet of elegance; the Countess de Noailles gives rein in her books to all the passion of the senses; Paul Fort writes well and delicately. A reawakening in religious poetry has produced three masters: Charles Péguy, conscientious but heavy; Francis Jammes, who has the soul, mind and style of a primitive; and Paul Claudel, powerful but unequal. An interesting group, born shortly before the war, sought to convey the thought and collective feeling of our epoch in individual expression. Its chief representatives, who strove against the spirit of war, are Georges Duhamel, Vildrac, and Jules Romains.

The Novel—In the novel, we have Victor Hugo once more, but his lyric temperament is not suited to this kind of literature. His contemporary, Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), is his superior in describing middle-class and especially provincial characters. Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) was less productive, but each of his productions, conscientiously studied, is a masterpiece of style. George Sand (1804-1876) was the first contemporary French woman who mingled in her works of imagination and fine feeling, her generous social interest.

Émile Zola (1840-1903), the great master of realism, expressed his faith in human progress in his powerful synthetic work; the brothers de Goncourt (1822-1898 and 1830-1870) made their mark more as writers simply;

Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897) as a sensitive observer; Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) lends a charm to what he has seen, that the story could not have had alone. With George Sand and with Émile Zola the French novel had already become combative; in our epoch it is closely concerned with social movements. It became a religious weapon for the independent Catholics, such as the haughty Barbey d'Aurévilly (1808-1891) and Villiers de l'Isle Adam (1833-1889) with his strange imagination; and such as the very carnal J. K. Huysmans (1848-1907); and Léon Bloy (1846-1917), with his fiery talent.

In the political field, reaction employed the novel also for the national struggle; the best champions being Paul Bourget, whose claim is to prove his theories psychologically, and the sensual Barrès, of tortured style and mind; but, to balance them, Émile Zola was not the last to seek fresh solutions to the social problem of the betterment of humanity. Anatole France, armed with the purest French wit, scoffs away prejudices, to clear the straight way to the future. Octave Mirbeau (1850-1917), with more violence, describes the blemishes in leaders of present-day society, towards whom Marcel Prévost shows himself so indulgent. Romain Rolland thinks, writes, and prophesies more as a true "citizen of the world" than simply as a Frenchman. Henri Barbusse flings himself into the struggle and, without hesitation, proclaims the obligations of the immediate moment, before which Paul Adam (1862-1920) and Rosny stand wavering.

The Theatre—French production is yet more varied in the theatre than in the novel. To the romantic drama there succeeded a drama of ideas often in themselves romantic, which has in its turn grown almost as archaic, but out of which came the French theatre of to-day. The authors of the transition are:—Alexander Dumas the younger (1824-1896); Émile Augier (1820-1889),

and Victorien Sardou (1831-1908). Social criticism, instead of being argumentative and "bourgeois," became raking with Henry Becque, strongly encouraged by the great inspirer of the modern French theatre, the manager and artist, Antoine. It was he who made François de Curel known, the writer who, in a symbolic atmosphere, handles social problems at once as a poet, a philosopher, and a realist. Others are Georges de Porto Riche, a subtle dissector of love; Mirbeau, brutal but constructive in the theatre as in the novel; Émile Fabre, a cool and conscientious analyst of modern life; Henry Bataille (1872-1922), delicate and tender; Henry Bernstein, on the contrary, in whose works violence often takes the place of thought; the honest Brioux; Sacha Guitry, with too facile talent; Georges Courteline, a powerful caricaturist of present-day manners, while Tristan Bernard is their benevolent observer.

In 1897, Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac" scored an exaggerated success: it is a work too exclusively French, full of dash and heroic glamour. The drama which has unfortunately been the most successful in Paris for twenty years back is the "théâtre du boulevard," a form which is attractive light, and lending itself to the tastes and caprices of a public which attends theatres rather as an after-dinner relaxation than to think or to learn anything new.

Working against this theatre to-day in Paris, after Antoine, come:—Firmin Gémier, Lugné-Poë, director of the "Œuvre," which introduced most of the masterpieces of foreign countries to the French; and Jacques Copeau, the organizer of the "Théâtre du Vieux Colombier."

Critics and Criticism—Before the Great War, France had an established reputation for a sane, bold judgment, free from prejudices, and penetrating in analysis. It is explicable, therefore, that she should have produced excellent critics in the second half of the nineteenth

century. Foremost amongst them is Sainte-Beuve (1804-1869), who in a work of literature seeks out and explains its author first of all ; Taine (1828-1893), who aims at scientific explanation for everything ; Brunetière (1849-1906), a doctrinaire judge. Anatole France and Jules Lemaître (1853-1914), on the other hand, have the gentle scepticism of philosophers.

History—This scepticism, which derives from Voltaire and so is eminently French, is found in the work of the great historian, Renan (1823-1892), who, in the very height of the 1870-1871 War, did not fear to pay homage to German method, to which he owed so much. Before him French History was hardly scientific. Jules Michelet (1798-1874) had written a History of France, generous and poetical in spirit, but which lacked objectivity. Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889), on the other hand, forced himself to be impartial, whilst Ernest Lavisse is too often dominated by patriotic prejudices. To sum up, speaking generally, the French character is wanting in the serenity which makes good historians.

Philosophy—In different branches of philosophy, France is represented in metaphysics by Felix Ravaisson (1813-1900), by Jules Lachelier, Charles Renouvier (1815-1903), Jean Marie Guyau (1854-1888), Émile Boutroux (1845-1922), and, above all, Henri Bergson ; in psychology by Théodule Ribot ; in ethics by Alfred Fouillée (1838-1919) ; in Sociology by Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904).

Painting—The arts were perhaps more flourishing before the Second Empire than during this period and under the Third Republic. The Second Empire was the period of the sober productions of the learned and conscientious Ingres, and of the ardent romantic colourist, Eugène Delacroix (1799-1863) ; Corot (1796-1875), the painter of shaded wood scenes ; the landscape painters inferior to him—Diaz (1807-1876), Troyon (1813-1865),

and Dupré (1812-1869); and, finally, of the rude but lofty talent of Millet (1816-1891).

Realism—The School of Realists had as first master, Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). The year 1863, in which the painters refused by the "Grand Salon" of Paris joined forces to appeal from the official judgment to the masses, revealed some great artists: Fantin-Latour (1836-1904), portrait painter; Harpignies (1819-1916), with his somewhat severe forest studies; Jean Paul Laurens, who evokes great historical scenes; the Impressionists Edouard Manet (1833-1884) and Pissaro (1830-1903).

Impressionism—To this School belong also Claude Monet, who seems to lead us into the delicate landscapes of dreams. To set against these, the chief names of a too-prolific academic school are:—the official portrait-painter Bonnat; Bouguereau (1825-1905), who lacks force; Meissonnier (1815-1891), craftsman rather than artist; Henner (1820-1905), Carolus Duran (1838-1917), Gérôme (1824-1904), and Ziem (1820-1911). Alongside, there were some masters who contrived to attract public attention without any sacrifice of their artistic probity. Such were:—Eugène Carrière (1849-1906), profoundly sad and human; Albert Besnard, a marvellous poet of the body; Renoir, warm and voluptuous in his tones; and Edgar Degas (1841-1917), a painter of women in everyday attitudes. The life of the people is depicted by Raffaelli, Steinlen, and Toulouse-Lautrec.

Religious Art—There was in painting, as in literature, a special religious art, represented by Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898), an artist of great restraint, and Maurice Denis, remarkable for his clear colouring. With the first of these, although he has a place apart, may be mentioned Gustave Moreau (1826-1898), perhaps rather too intellectual a painter. Among the artists of the advance-guard we must cite in the first ranks Gauguin (1848-1903),

wild in temperament ; Cézanne (1839-1906), who is above all a colourist of a new technique ; the intimate Vuillard ; and if the cubist movement, already forgotten, may be neglected, Bonnard, Marquet, Matisse, Ségonzac, and Dufy.

Sculpture—Sculpture was represented under the July Monarchy by the forceful Rude (1784-1855) and by Barye (1796-1875), the animal sculptor ; as well as by David d'Angers (1789-1856), of varied talents ; in the Second Empire, sculptors were Carpeaux (1827-1875), who produced work so firm and living, as compared with numerous academic sculptors without much idealism, such as Falguière (1831-1900), Frémiet (1824-1910), Mercié (1845-1916), Barrias (1822-1907), Gérôme (1824-1904), St. Marceaux (1845-1915) and Bartholomé, who, however, produced a masterpiece,—the Monument to the Dead in the Cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris. The Third Republic produced Dalou (1838-1902), who celebrated it ; and notably Rodin (1840-1917), the greatest sculptor of his age, and Bourdelle, his pupil.

Contemporary architecture in France is wanting in originality. A pretentious and vulgar effort to give her a "modern style" has failed.

Architecture—The chief buildings of the Third Republic in Paris are : the Palace of the Trocadero ; the Big and Little Palaces ; which are lacking in distinction and lightness. The Banks and great municipal shops or stores, monuments of the present epoch, offer no special characteristics.

Music—The best-known names in French music are :—Ambroise Thomas (1811-1896) and Gounod (1818-1893), defenders of the tradition which the romantic Berlioz (1803-1869) cast off, thus marking the opening of the modern period in French music. Then come the voluptuous Massenet (1842-1912), Saint-Saëns (1835-1922), a vigorous and already classic master ; Reyer (1823-1909), Bizet (1838-1875), remarkable for "colour" ; César

Franck (1822-1890), of a sober religious spirit, followed by his laborious and honest disciple, Vincent d'Indy. The realist School is represented by Bruneau and Gustave Charpentier. The modern French School has freed itself from the influence of Wagner (1813-1883), which was so great for twenty-five years (about 1875-1900). The masters of this school, symbolist and impressionist in tendency are:—Ernest Chausson, Claude Debussy (1862-1918), Ravel, Fauré, Paul Dukas, Florent Schmitt, and, among the quite young, Darius Milhaud and Poulenc. At the same time, the pure song, the French "Lied," has been revived by Duparc and Reynaldo Hahn. Light music or the operetta, particularly brilliant under the Second Empire with Offenbach (1819-1880) and Hervé (1825-1893), still inspires Lecoq, Planquette, André Messager, and Claude Terrasse.

The contribution made by France to world-wide scientific research during the second half of the nineteenth and the opening years of the twentieth century has been important.

Mathematics—In the mathematical sciences Joseph Bertrand (1822-1900), Darboux (1842-1917), François Arago (1786-1853) and Leverrier (1811-1877) have found worthy successors in Puiseux (1820-1883), Charles Hermite (1822-1901), Camille Jordan, Gaston Darboux, Paul Appell, Émile Picard, Paul Painlevé, and, above all, Henri Poincaré.

Mechanics, Astronomy and Physics—In Mechanics, France is represented by Henri Résal (1828-1896) and Joseph Boussinesq; in Astronomy by Le Verrier (1811-1877), Félix Tisserand (1845-1896), Pierre Janssen (1824-1907), Guillaume Bigourdan, Loewy (1833-1907), Mascart, Alfred Angot; in Physics by Ampère (1775-1836), Arago (1786-1853), Fresnel (1788-1827), Babinet (1794-1872), Léon Foucault (1819-1868), Émile Amagat (1841-1915), Louis-Paul Cailletet (1832-1913), Charles Tellier, Gabriel

Lippmann (1828-1913), the inventor of colour photography, Jules Marey (1830-1904), known for his work on the cinematograph ; Henri Becquerel (1852-1908) ; Monsieur (1859-1906) and Madame Pierre Curie, who discovered radium ; Edouard Branly, whose work led up to the invention of wireless telegraphy ; Marcellin Berthelot (1827-1907) and Henri Moissan (1825-1907), for synthetic chemistry, and, for biological chemistry, the great Louis Pasteur (1822-1895), who discovered yeasts and microbes, cured croup and hydrophobia, and founded the science of antiseptics. For mineralogy and geology, names which must be quoted are—André Fouqué (1828-1904) and Auguste Michel Lévy (1844-1914), G. A. Daubrée (1814-1896), Albert-Auguste de Lapparent (1839-1908), Louis de Launay, Stanislas Meunier, and Alfred Lacroix ; in biology, famous earlier were Lamarck (1744-1829), Cuvier (1769-1832), and Geoffroy St. Hilaire (1772-1844), and to these must be added Henri Milne Edwards (1800-1885), Edmond Perrier, Alfred Giard (1846-1908), Yves Delage, Félix le Dantec, and Noël Bernard (1874-1911) ; in experimental physiology, first Claude Bernard (1813-1877), then Bichat (1845-1905), Auguste Chauveau, Jules Marey (1830-1904), Charles Richet, and Alexis Carrel, who successfully transplanted organs outside the organism ; in Botany, Philip van Tieghem (1839-1914) and Gaston Bonnier ; in palæontology, Albert Gaudry (1827-1908), Marcellin Boule, and Adolphe Brongniart (1801-1876). Eminent French doctors are very numerous. In the first rank we may quote Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893), Janet, and Babinski for nervous diseases, the microbiologists, Roux, Chantemesse (1851-1919), Yersin ; and the surgeons, Paul Reclus (1847-1914), Jules Péan (1830-1898), Louis Doyen (1859-1916), and Lannelongue (1840-1912).

Geography—The French have the reputation of being ignorant of geography ; but there are some famous names

in this science. Prominent are Elisée Reclus (1830-1905) and his brother, Onésime, and Paul Vidal de la Blache. The discoveries of numerous famous French explorers in the Polar regions, in Asia, in Africa, in South America, have contributed still more to the progress of this science.

Aviation—Their bold enterprises lead us to offer our admiration collectively, in quite a different order of human research, to all the Frenchmen who have helped to solve the problem of aerial navigation. Let us hope that henceforth the results they have obtained may be used to improve the relations between the peoples, and not for the destruction of human life.

We have now traced the story of the French people up to the eve of the Great War of 1914-1918. With the war itself, and with the foreign policy of the preceding years we do not propose to deal. It marks, as we have said, the close of one era, and the beginning of another, the course of which it is impossible yet to foresee.

The war, in the general ruin that it has caused, far surpasses all previous conflicts. A new situation demands new remedies. Men's hopes should turn rather to a policy of international co-operation than to the attempts at reparation carried out by professional politicians; for it is a fact that the solidarity which we have seen come into being and develop among the citizens of France during the war is developing at the same time between the peoples. The politicians do not take count of this new solidarity, and only the people can force them to do so. In those groups in the different nations which are filled with sincere and reasonable aspirations towards progress, and have the vitality and perseverance to pursue them, lies the hope of the salvation of Europe.

That intellectual force which strives towards the highest, that idealism which has been reborn yet more

active after years of prostration, is an essential feature of the French character. We trust that this book has demonstrated that clearly. Such a demonstration should be a sufficient safeguard against despair in these times of darkness.

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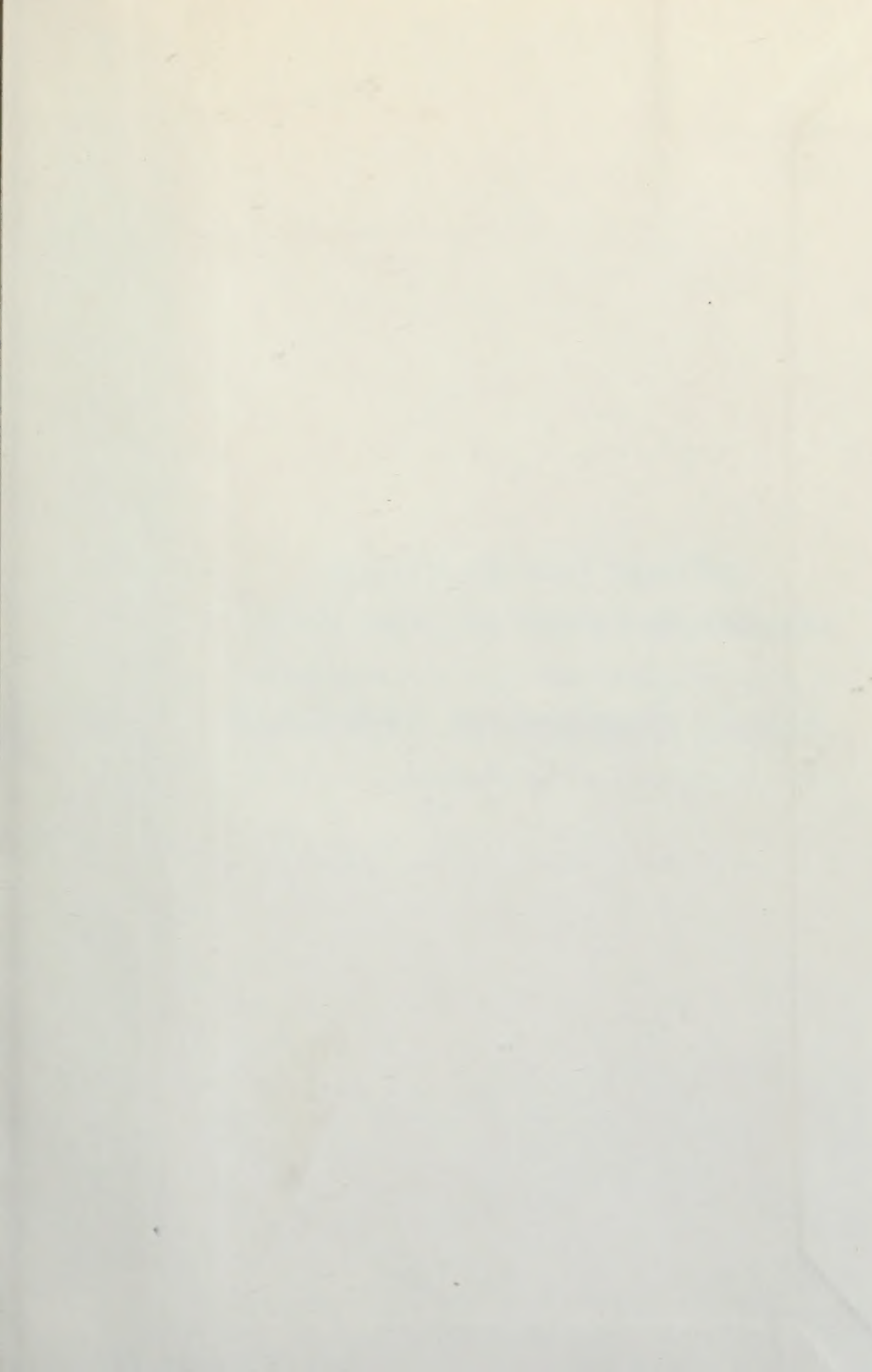
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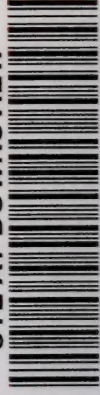


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